

FEDERAL VOTING ASSISTANCE PROPRAM OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENDE WASHINGTON. DC 20301-1 199

March 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: American Defense Foundation - Meeting March 5, 1993

We (Phyllis Taylor and I) met with Red McDaniel, Captain, USN (Ret) and John Isaf of the American Defense Foundation (ADF) at their request at 10:30 a.m. last Friday.

Captain McDaniel briefly reviewed some of the past programs of the ADF and explained that they wanted to take a more active non-partisan role in promoting voting. He stated their desire was to promote absentee voter registration and ballot requests by eligible members in the military covered by the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act.

Specifically, he stated that ADF had obtained a list of military persons claiming Texas as their legal residence and he planned to do a mailing to those individuals prior to the May 1 Texas primary election. He stressed the mailing would be apolitical and simply to encourage persons to participate in the electoral process.

He requested we provide 140,000 FPCAs for this purpose and reaffirmed that this is a non-partisan initiative on the part of the ADF. We agreed with their FPCA request and the meeting was adjourned at approximately 11:15 a.m.

John Uschold Deputy Director

Source: Phyllis Taylor, FVAP

ATTACEMENT 5
Page _____ of ____

Run-off Election Scheduled in Georgia

Due to two close races in Georgia, a run-off election will be held on November 24, 1992 to determine the U.S. Senator and the Public Service Commissioner for the state. The candidates in the U.S. Senate race are Wyche Fowler, Jr. (D) and Paul Coverdell (R). For the office of Public Service Commissioner, the candidates are Bobby Baker (R) and John Frank Collins (D).

All military and overseas citizens who followed proper procedure to receive absentee ballots for the primary and general elections will be sent run-off election absentee ballots. Due to time constraints, however, domestic and overseas military and overseas civilians may use the Federal Write-In Absentee Ballot to cast their votes if they do not receive their regular absentee ballots in time to make the receipt deadline. These voters should also return their voted regular absentee ballots as soon as they receive them in the mail. Election officials will count the Federal Write-In Absentee Ballot if it is the only one received from an eligible voter before the deadline. In the event that the two ballots are received from one voter, they will discard the Federal Write-In Absentee Ballot and count the regular absentee ballot.

The deadline to return ballots to county election officials is 7:00 pm on Tuesday, November 24th.

Questions which cannot be answered locally may be referred to the Director, Federal Voting Assistance Program, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Room 1B457, The Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 2030lor call Autovon 225-0663 or Commercial (703) 695-0663 or (800) 438-VOTE.

END

Source: Phyllin Taylor, FVAP

ATTROUMENT 5
Page 2 or 1



October 2, 1992

EUGENE B. McDantel President

MICHAEL H. MCDANIEL EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
HON GARYA. LEE
STUART C. JOHNSON
H.J. "KIP" KOEHLER
GLEN T. UROUHART

BOARD OF ADVISORS SEN STEVE SYMMS GOV PETE WILSON "EP GLY VANDER JAGT JEP GERALD SOLOMON REP BOB MCEWEN HON JEREMUAH DENTON HON EDWARD HIDALGO GENWM C WESTMORELAND ADM THOMAS MOOREF LTGEN JOHN PETER FLYNN RADM ROBERT M. GARRICK RADM EDWARD OUTLAW MCPON BOB WALKER MRS HOLLY COORS MRS ELLEN GARWOOD MR WILLIAM MURCHISON

The Honorable Dick Cheney Secretary of Defense The Pentagon Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Secretary Cheney:

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the threat it presented, the U.S. military will no longer be able to command the level of investment it has enjoyed during recent administrations. We feel the upcoming election will be one of the most crucial elections in history for the future of national defense. Not only the impact from the decision-making process motivates the military community to vote, but recent changes in the global security environment certainly do as well. To ensure that rational and reasonable voices will be heard in this debate, the military community is going to have to make their power felt at the ballet box.

As you are aware. ADI has spearheaded the private sector effort to turn out the military vote since 1984. Since 63.5% of military personnel voted in 1988, we feel 1992 will be a record year for military voting if we reinforce the importance of each service member's vote.

ADI is requesting the mailing lists for service members with home of record in the following states: Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, North Dakota, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The list is the payroll list from the finance center, broken down by state, where members of the armed services file income tax. Please provide this data on magnetic tape (6250 bpi, 9 track, IBM format including record layout and file dump). Our organization and/or data processor will promptly sign any required confidentiality agreement. We, of course, will reimburse any costs incurred. We plan to send a non-partisan, mouvational letter to these service members reminding them and encouraging them to vote.

We respectfully request that this request be handled on a priority basis. With less than 750 hours remaining until election day, you can understand the urgency of this request. Please have your staff contact me if there is any anticipated delay in processing this request.

We, again, want to thank you and your staff for your assistance over the years with the American Defense Insutute's Military Voter Registration and get-out-the-vote programs.

Please call if you have any questions.

cc: Mr. William M. McDonald Director, Freedom of Info. and Sec. Review

Source: Charles Talbot, DOD FOIA Office

1055 NORTH FAIRFAX STREET SECOND FLOOR ALEXANDRIA. VA 22316 © (703) 519-7000
THE AMERICAN DEFENSE INSTITUTE IS NON-PROFIT CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE

ATTACAMENT 5
Page 3 of 1

Eugene B. McDaniel



October 2, 1992

EUGENE B. McDaniel President

MICHAEL H. McDantel Executive Director

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon. Gary A. Lee

STUART C. JOHNSON

H.J. "Kip" Koehler

GLEN T. URQUHART

BOARD OF ADVISORS

SEN STEVE SYMMS

GOV PETE WILSON

PEP GUY VANDER JAGT

EP GERALD SOLOMON

REP BOB MCEWEN

HON JEREMIAH DENTON

HON EDWARD HIDALGO

GENWM C WESTMORELAND

ADM THOMAS MOORER

LTGEN JOHN PETER FLYNA

KADM ROBERT M GARRICK

RADM EDWARD OLTLAN

MCPON BOB WALKER

MRS. HOLLY COORS

MRS. ELLEN GARWOOD

MR WILLIAM MURCHISON

Mr. William M. McDonald
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense
for Public Affairs (DFISR)

The Pentagon

Washington, DC 20301-1400

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Hope all is well with you!

This is an extremely important election year for the future of national defense. We want to ensure a maximum turn out of the military vote. We feel confident DoD will have some impressive numbers this year with military members voting. We are doing everything possible to encourage the armed forces to vote.

Enclosed is a copy of the request submitted to Secretary Cheney. Captain McDaniel will call Monday to discuss this with you. Since time is obviously short, we hope we can get a quick turn around with our request. Thanks in advance for your help!

Sincerely

Michael H. McDaniel Executive Director

Source: Charles Talbot, DOD FOIA Office

Ref: 92-F0I-2059

Mr. Eugene B. McDaniel American Defense Institute 1055 North Fairfax Street Second Floor Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

This is in reply to your Freedom of Information Act request of October 2, 1992, for a magnetic tape listing of names and addresses of military service members with homes of record in specified states.

The Office of the Director, Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) advises that on October 16, 1992, a magnetic tape responsive to your request was forwarded directly to an Illinois address per information you provided subsequent to your request. In keeping with established Department of Defense policy, information pertaining to members who are assigned to duties in overseas areas, or with routinely deployable or sensitive military units, was deleted from the information provided. As release of the information would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of the members so identified, release of that information is denied by Ms. Anita Lancaster, Assistant Director, DMDC, under provisions of 5 USC 552(b)(6).

You have the right to appeal the decision to deny release of the information. Any appeal should be forwarded within 60 days of the above date, to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs , DFCISE, Room 20757 Pentagon, Washington, D. C. 20301-1400.

Chargeable costs for processing your request are \$62.00, derived from 2 minutes computer/machine time, at \$43.50 per minute, and 1 hour of professional computer programmer/operator time, at \$25 per hour, less the equivalent costs for 2 hours of professional level search time (at \$25 per hour) to which you are entitled as an "others" category requester.

Source: Charles Talbot, DOD FOIA Office

ATTACHENT 5
Page 5 of 11

Please provide your check or money order, payable to the U.S. Treasurer, to the address provided above within 30 days of the above date.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

W. M. McDonald Director Freedom of Information and Security Review

CYT/edgington:je:Deny/Appeal92::ALIS:::10/26/92:gr/pk_yl_wh_

27:1026 -7:1026

Source: Charles Talbot, DOD FOIA Office



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WASHINGTON. D.C. 20301-1400

17 MAR 1993

Ref: 93-F-0474

Mr. Eugene B. McDaniel President American Defense Institute 1055 North Fairfax Street, Second Floor Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

This responds to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request of February 23, 1993.

The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management & Personnel), the Department of Defense element with cognizance over issues related to your request, has advised us that the enclosed computer tapes are responsive. Some information relating to service members assigned to units which are sensitive, routinely deployed, or stationed overseas, has been withheld; release of this information would cause a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of service personnel.

Accordingly, Mr. Kenneth C. Scheflen, Director, Defense Manpower Data Center, has withheld the information pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552 (b) (6). You may appeal Mr. Scheflen's decision to withhold the information by submitting your rationale to reverse the initial denial. Any such appeal should be forwarded to this office at the following address within 60 days of the above date.

Directorate, Freedom of Information and Security Review, OASD(PA)
Pentagon, Rm 2C757
Washington, DC 20301-1400

The total cost associated with processing your request is \$194.00, of which \$124.00 is assessable. Assessable fees included 4 minutes of computer operations at the rate of \$43.50, less the equivalent of two hours of professional level operator search time at the rate of \$25.00 an hour. The cost of the computer tapes, \$10.00 each, was also waived.

Source: Charles Talbot, DOD FOIA Office

5420-314-1180 \$ 134°

ATTACHMENT 5
Page 2 of 1

500319

Please indicate the reference number above on your check or money order and send your payment for \$124.00, payable to the U.S. Treasurer, within 30 days of the above date, to this office at the above address.

As directed, we have sent the computer tapes and a copy of this letter to JJ Mailing at the address shown below.

Sincerely,

W. M. McDonald Director

Freedom of Information and Security Review

Enclosures: As Stated

cc:

JJ Mailing

Att: Ms. Cheryl Miller St. Mary Industrial Park 41 Commerce Avenue

Hollywood, Maryland 20656

cyt:fish:ALIS:other:part:3/16/93:gr_pk_yl_wh_

7903! Jun V

Source: Charles Talbot, DCD FOIA Office

ATTACHUME 5
Rage 8 of 11



November 9, 1992

EUGENT B. MCDANEL PRESIDENT

MICHAEL H. MCDANIEL EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. William M. McDonald Director, Freedom of Information and Security Review Office of the ASDPA The Penmanon Washington, DC 20301-1400

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Hon Gary A. Lee

E

BTUART C. JOHNSON

H.I. "Kip" KORMLAR

GLEN T. L'ASUMARI

BUAKE OF ATMISORS

SEN STEVE SIMMS

GOIL PETE WILLION

REP GUY VANDER JAST

REF GERALD STLONGS

Rry Bon McEirz

HIN JERINGE DENTU-

HUr. Eiman Human

GEN WM C. RESTMORELAND

ALIAN LIKUALAN NILAPER

LTGENIONO PETERFLYIN

RADM ROBERT M. GARAGER

RADM BOWARD GUTT-44

MCPON BOD WALKER

MRS HOLLY COOK

MIRE ELLEN GARNOUT

WE MUTTINI MUSCINSON

Dear Mr. McDonald:

As you are aware, there is a special election being held in Georgia on November 24, 1992. This is a run off for the remaining seat in the U.S. Senate. We want to assure that military members from the state of Georgia have a voice in this special election. There are approximately 63,000 service members that list Georgia as there home of record. This may be the first time these men and women have participated in such an election and ADI wants to ensure they know the procedure and exercise their right to vote.

The American Defense Institute is requesting the mailing lists for service members with home of record in Georgia. The list is the payroll list from the finance center where members of the armed services file moome tax. Please provide this data on magnetic tape (6230 bpl, 9 track, IBM format including record layour and file dump). Our organization and/or data processor will promptly sign any required confidentiality agreement. We, of course, will reiniburse any costs incurred.

Our plan is to send these service members instructions on the procedures for this special election and a modivational letter encouraging them to vote. We respectfully request that this request be handled on a priority basis due to the short time before the election. Please have your staff contact me if there is any anticipated delay in processing this fequest.

We again thank you and your entire staff for your continued assistance.

Bugene B. McDaniel

Source: Charles Talbot, DOD FOIA Office

0 7 DEC 1992

Ref: 92-F01-2354

Mr. Eugane B. McDaniel American Defense Institute 1055 North Fairfax Street Second Floor Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

This is in reply to your Freedom of Information Act request of November 9, 1992, for a magnetic tape listing of names and addresses of military service members with homes of record in Georgia.

The Office of the Director, Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) advises that a magnetic tape containing information responsive to your request has been provided to you. In keeping with established Department of Defense policy, information pertaining to members who are assigned to duties in overseas areas, or with routinely deployable or sensitive military units, was deleted from the information provided. As release of the information would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of the members so identified, release of that information is denied by Montaite Demosster. Assistant Director, DMDC, under provisions of 5 USC 552(b)(6).

You have the right to appeal the decision to deny release of the information. Any appeal should be forwarded within 60 days of the above date, to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), DFOISR, Room 2C757 Pentagon, Washington, D. C. 20301-1400.

Chargeable costs for processing your request are \$62.00, derived from 2 minutes computer/machine time, at \$43.50 per minute, and 1 hour of professional computer programmer/operator time, at \$25 per hour, less the equivalent costs for 2 hours of professional level search time (at \$25 per hour) to which you are entitled as an "others" category requester.

Source: Charles Talbot, DOD FOIA Office

ATTACHMENT 3
Page 10 of 1

Please provide your check or money order, payable to the U.S. Treasurer, to the address provided above within 30 days of the above date.

Sincerely,



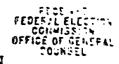
W. M. McDonald Director Freedom of Information and Security Review

CYT/edgington: je:Deny/Appeal92::ALIS:::12/07/92:gri/pk_yl_wh_

E921807
921207

Source: Charles Talbott, DON FOIA Office

ATTACHUM J



BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Jor 2 3 1 n b.H . 3 i

In the Matter of	}	MUR 3669
CHRISTIAN COALITION OF	j	

RESPONSE TO SUBPOENA TO PRODUCE DOCUMENTS AND/OR SUBMIT WRITTEN ANSWERS

In response to a request that the Federal Election Commission issued pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a) (1) (3) COMES NOW CHRISTIAN COALITION OF GEORGIA. INC. and files this response to the above served on or after April 7, 1994 pursuant to an order issued April 5, 1994 by the Chairman, Trevor Potter.

GENERAL OBJECTION NO. 1

The respondent CHRISTIAN COALITION OF GEORGIA, INC., objects to any and all interrogatories which seek information regarding communications between it and its attorney, as well as all interrogatories which seek information regarding communications and documents prepared by or at the direction of its attorney in anticipation of, or for the conduct of, any litigation. Such communications and documents are protected from discovery by the Attorney-Client Privilege and by the Work Product Doctrine.

GENERAL OBJECTION NO. 2

The respondent, CHRISTIAN COALITION OF GEORGIA, INC., further objects to any portion of the introduction to the subpoena suggesting that the questions propounded to it are continuing so as to require supplemental answers. The respondent maintains it is obligated to supplement its answers to the subpoena only to the extent prescribed by The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. On the basis of the information now known to it and without waiving any objection or admitting the relevance or materiality

All Lucilian of 2

of any of the matters inquired about, or the admissibility of any of the information supplied, Christian Coalition of Georgia, Inc. responds to the Federal Election Commission's interrogatories as follows:

COMES NOW THE RESPONDENT and files this its answers based on the information now known to it subject to amendment and subject to the above-stated objections.

- 1. Yes. Georgia Christian Coalition is not incorporated, but an organization known as Christian Coalition of Georgia. Inc. does exist as a corporation. It was incorporated on October 1, 1990. Its incorporation is presently valid. Its officers are CEO, Patrick M. Gartland; CFO, John A. Gibbs; Secretary, Rebecca White; and Registered Agent, Patrick M. Gartland and board members: Jim Garrett, Dr. Paul Broun, Odell Cochran, Patrick M. Gartland, Linda Hamrick and Dr. Charles Wirsing.
- 2. Attached are copies of the articles of incorporation of the corporation mentioned in No. 1 above and the current bylaws of Christian Coalition of Georgia, Inc. The bylaws of Georgia Christian Coalition are not in possession of Christian Coalition of Georgia, Inc. and it is not known whether any such exists, or whether Georgia Christian Coalition exists.
- 3. A copy of the state organization affiliation agreement under which Georgia Christian Coalition is affiliated is attached.
- 4. 3937 Holcomb Bridge Road. Suite 300, Norcross, Georgia 30092. The Registered Agent is Patrick M. Gartland at the same address.

52. No get-out-the-vote materials were produced in 1990 or 1992 for any of the

on file. Also enclosed is the invoice and check for voter guides produced and distributed in the 1992 General Election runoff.

ATTACLMENT C

6. Voter guide distribution in the 1992 Primary Election was coordinated by Ms. Judy Haynes of the National Christian Coalition staff and Bill Brown, State Chairman of the Christian Coalition of Georgia. The process was rather informal. Churches and known pro-family activists were contacted to see if they would distribute voter guides in the Primary Election. No records were kept of either the churches which were contacted or the volunteer workers who actually distributed the voter guides. Primary Election voter guides were produced and paid for by the National Christian Coalition.

In the General Election and the General Election Run-off, voter guide distribution was handled by Mr. Patrick Gardand who had assumed the position of State Chairman. Mr. Gardand traveled the state, from district to district and county to county, dropping them off or mailing them to persons or churches which had ordered them from the National Christian Coalition. (see copies of orders received from National Christian Coalition Headquarters) Mr. Gardand also contacted other known Christian leaders and pro-family activists to facilitate voter guide distribution. Again, the effort was put together in a matter of days with virtually no pre-planning, so no records were kept and there was no feeling that records were necessary.

- 7 N/A
- 18. N/A
- 9. See attached invoice and copy of check for voter guides produced for the U.S. Senate General Election Run-ofi in 1992.
- of Georgia. Only National Christian Coalition Congressional scorecards (such as the attached) have been distributed in Georgia and in very minimal quantities.
- 11. The name of the Georgia Christian Coalition Executive Director, employed since Feb. 7, 1994, is:

John A. Gibbs 3134 Vinings Ridge Drive Atlanta, Georgia 30339

Page 5 of 12



Enclosed is a list of the current chapter chairpersons.

The chapters which have entered into an affiliation agreement with the

National Chrisian Coalition are:

Chatham County
Cherokee County
Clarke County
Clayton/Henry Counties
DeKalb County
Douglas/Carroll Counties
Gwinnett County
Newton County
Stephens County

, 12. No.

./13. See response to paragraph no. 9 above and attachments.

14. None to current management's knowledge were used in 1990 or 1992. A copy of recently produced manuals are enclosed, but these were produced in the last four months and have been used in NO federal elections as of this date.

Further respondents saith not this the Lay of

Don W. Johnson, Esq. Attorney for Respondent

THE JOHNSON LAW FIRM, P.C. 1900 The Exchange, Suite 305 Atlanta, Georgia 30339 (404) 951-1100

Fage 4 of 12

VERIFICATION

STATE OF GEORGIA COUNTY OF GWERN

PERSONALLY APPEARED before the undersigned officer, duly authorized to administer oaths, PATRICK M. GARTLAND, who is the CEO of the Respondent in the foregoing action, who after being duly sworn, deposes and says that the answers and responses contained in the Response To Subpoena To Produce Documents And/Or Submit Written Answers propounded by the Federal Election Commission are true and correct to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Sworn to and subscribed before me

My Commission Expires: _

My Commission Lacites Aug 2, 1974

Christian Galition Voten Guide '92

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 1992



GEORGE BUSH Republican

BILL CLINTON Democrat ROSS PEROT dependent

		CONTRACTOR	
Balanced Budget Amendment	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	OPPOSES
Abortion on Demand	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Parental Choice in Education (Vouchers)	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS
Voluntary School Prayer Amendment	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	OPPOSES
Homosexual Rights	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Raising Income Taxes	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Term Limits	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	OPPOSES
Death Penalty	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Increased Funding for SDI	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	NO RESPONSE
Line-Item Veto	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Tax-Funded Abortion	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Condom Distribution in Schools	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS

Paid for and authorized by Christian Coaltion, P.O. Box 1990, Chesapeake, VA 23327

Fage 6 - of - 12

GEORGIA

U.S. Senate

	Wyche Paul Coverdell (R)	
SUPPORTS	Raising Income Taxes	OPPOSES
SUPPORTS	Abortion on Demand	OPPOSES
OPPOSES	Choice in Education (Vouchers)	SUPPORTS
SUPPORTS	Homosexual Rights	OPPOSES
OPPOSES	Tax-Funded Obscene Art	OPPOSES
SUPPORTS	Balanced Budget Amendment	SUPPORTS



Congressional Tony Center (D) District 6 Novel Gingrich (R)



NO RESPONSE	Raising Income Taxes	OPPOSES
SUPPORTS	Abortion on Demand	OPPOSES
NO RESPONSE	Choice in Education (Vouchers)	SUPPORTS
NO RESPONSE	Homosexual Rights	OPPOSES
NO RESPONSE	Tax-Funded Obscene Art	OPPOSES
NO RESPONSE	Balanced Budget Amendment	SUPPORTS



Congressional District 7



	Darden (D)	Beverty (R)	A SAFETY TO
SUPPORTS	Raising Inc	ome Taxes	OPPOSES
NO RESPONSE	Abortion o	n Demand	OPPOSES
OPPOSES	Choice in Educa	tion (Vouchers)	SUPPORTS
NO RESPONSE	Homosex	ial Rights	OPPOSES
OPPOSES	Tax-Funded	Obscene Art	OPPOSES
SUPPORTS	Balanced Budg	et Amendment	SUPPORTS
SUPPORTS	Tax-Funde	d Abortion	OPPOSES

^{*}Each candidate was sent an issues survey by tax or certified mail. Candidate receipt of the survey was verified by telephone call, postal receipt, or tax receipt. When possible, positions of candidates were verified or determined using voting records and/or public statements.

Georgia Christian Coalition, Suite 238, 1401 Johnson Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30062



GEORGIA

U.S. Senate

Paul Coverdell (R) Wyche Fowler (D) Raising Income Taxes **SUPPORTS** Abortion on Demand **OPPOSES SUPPORTS** Choice in Education (Vouchers) **SUPPORTS OPPOSES** SUPPORTS Homosexual Rights **OPPOSES OPPOSES** Tax-Funded Obscene Art **OPPOSES** Balanced Budget Amendment **SUPPORTS** SUPPORTS

Public Service Commissioner

Labor Commissioner

John Frank Collins (D)	Robert "Bobby" Baker, Jr. (R)		David Poythress (D)	em Flaherty (R)
OPPOSES	OPPOSES	Raising State Income Taxes	NO RESPONSE	OPPOSES
OPPOSES	OPPOSES	Abortion on Demand	NO RESPONSE	OPPOSES
UNDECIDED	SUPPORTS	Prohibiting abortion except when the life of the mother is endangered.	NO RESPONSE	SUPPORTS
SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS	Choice in Education (Vouchers)	NO RESPONSE	SUPPORTS
OPPOSES	OPPOSES	Homosexual Rights	NO RESPONSE	OPPOSES
OPPOSES	OPPOSES	State-Sponsored Gambling	NO RESPONSE	OPPOSES

^{*}Each candidate was sent an issues survey by tax or certified mail. Candidate receipt of the survey was ventied by telephone call, postal receipt, or tax receipt. When possible, positions of candidates were ventisd or determined using voting records and/or public statements.

Georgia Christian Coaldon, Suite 238, 1401 Johnson Ferry Rd., Manetta, GA 30062

11/30/0:

W TO THE	Pat	Gartland	•	***1,000.0
ADER OF				\$

One Thousand and 00/100******************

* *

Pat Gartland

-DIESCT MAIL ACCOUNT

MEMO Consulting - Voter Guide Proj.

COPY NOT (NEGODAL

#9917#-#95140070!! D500476661#

ATTACHLAND OF 12

THE CHRISTIAN COAL INITE SAFA DR CHESAPEAKE, VA 23320



Y TO THE Georgia Christian Coalition

3000.00

Three Thousend Dollars and 00/100 ---

Georgga Christian Coalition C/O Pat Gartland US Chamber of Commerce SE Market Center 219 Perimeter Center Parkway

MEMO __Atlanta Cuoriga __30346.

Ė.

GENERAL OPERATING ACCOUNT .

#004493# #053400703# #0900477023#

.6.4

۲.



December 2, 1992

Mr. Pat Gartland 4167 Chads Crossing Marietta, Georgia 30062

Dear Pat:

Enclosed is a check for \$1,000.00 from the National Office of the Christian Coalition.

This check represents payment for your consulting services in helping distribute over 1,000,000 non-partisan voter guides during the past election.

God bless you, and thank you again for a job well done!

At your service,

Ralph Reed, Jr. Executive Director

ENC: (1)

*ILE COPA

Page // _of /2

The second of th

NationsBank of Georgis, N.A., Atlanta, GA MationsEank 345 S0000 90% Jeme<u>rasi Oymus Garres Perros</u> VellonsBeak of Georgie, N.A., Allante, GA PATRICK M. OR KAY H. GARTLAND 4167 CHADDS XING 404-977-9049 MARIETTA, GA 30062 GEORGIA CHRISTIAN COALITION
1401 JOHNSON FERRY RO SUITE 328-P7
MARIETTA, GA 30062 00 00 74,930868# 9570 £550 "0000 1 0000", \$ 16000 *,0000101100°. \$ 4048.00 Dollar 553 84-E/818 0104 DOLLARS

... TACHMENT

of

De Gulf

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BEFORE THE

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Washington, D.C.

Tuesday, March 28, 1995

The deposition of RALPH REED, called for examination by counsel for the Federal Election

Commission in the above-entitled matter, pursuant to Notice, in the offices of 999 E Street, N.W.,

Washington, D.C., convened at 9:00 a.m., before Cathy Jardim, a notary public in and for the District of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the parties:

ATTACHMENT of 5

MILLER REPORTING CO., INC. 507 C Screet, N.E Washington, D.C. 20002

ρ

9

10

11

12

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

- 22

1	any type of a PAC was received by the Christian
- 2	Coalition in an amount less than \$5,000, it would not
3	appear in the tax records; is that correct?
4	A. Yes.
5	Q. Has the Christian Coalition ever received

- Q. Has the Christian Coalition ever received contributions in any amount from political parties?
 - A. Not to my knowledge.
- Q. If an entry or a contribution is received from a political party, and, again, talking in terms of less than \$5,000, how would that be reported in the finance records of the Christian Coalition?
- A. It would not be particularly reported or recorded separately because we don't keep separate ledgers for the source of contributions.
- Q. So all the contributions are just lumped together unless for one particular reason or another they have to be specifically reported to the IRS; is that correct?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. To the best of your knowledge, has the Christian Coalition received contributions from particular candidates?

ATTACHMENT of 5

MULER REPORTING CO., INC 507 C Surer, N.E Washington, D.C., 20002

- A. Not that I recall.

Q. Did you contact him for purposes of having him come to the 19 -- excuse me. I take that back.

. .

- 22

During his presentation at the Road to

Victory Conference, you introduced Mr. Anderson as

somebody that you have daily contacts with. Do you

refer to daily contacts with him after the contribution

or do you include the contacts from the time of the

meeting to the contribution time, as including that

daily contact with him, time frame?

- A. I don't recall the statement that I have daily contact with him. I don't think I meant when I was introduced to him that I spoke to him every single day. Certainly I did not speak to him every single day but Curt and I did talk on the phone on a fairly regular basis in his capacity as -- his ongoing effort to stay in contact with coalition organizations like ours.
- Q. And aside from the \$64,000 contribution or the total contribution that came from the NRSC, were there any other contributions from the NRSC, from that initial contribution to the present, that you know of?

MRLER REPORTING CO., INC. 507 C Street, N.E. Washington D.C. 20002

2

3

4

5

6

7

3

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

- 22

A. No. To the best of my recollection, the
board made a determination at a board meeting held at
the first Road to Victory Conference in November of
1991 that we would never solicit nor accept
contributions from either political party, from either
party in the future.

- In any amount? Q.
- In any amount. A.
- And that has in fact been the case? Q.
- To the best of my knowledge.
- Aside from this particular contribution, did Q. the Christian Coalition around this time frame, and at the time that the decision was made by the board not to receive contributions from these types of organizations, did it receive any type of contribution or any amount of contribution from other PACs?
 - Not that I am aware of.
- If in fact it was under \$5,000, the contribution received was under \$5,000, it would not have to be reported to the IRS; is that correct?
 - I believe that is correct, yes.
 - So if a contribution from these PACs or from Q.

Washington D.C. 20002

MILLER REPORTING CO., INC. 507 C. Suren, N.E.

APR - 6 MET

local to

Protional RIGHT TO LIFE Committee, inc.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION

Phaze I VOTER JURVEY PROJECT

PROGRAM

TOPP

The Alatimad Right to Life Committee wither to thank the following people for their special help in preparing this backlet:
National Project Directors
Valvanilication Project

Veter Mentification Project Fritcia R. Gesten — Missein Choia Klein — Michigan

Others who participated:

Virgil & Berthe — Othe

Bill Brenggemerer — Othe

Dartone L. Orgenhard: — Ulinois

Corotro Huse — Indiana

Darvid Maiser — Othe

Rabert Metteen — New York

teichele NetRee — Indiana
Jean Maddone — Michigan
budy Termic — California
Jean C. Wille, M.D. — Othe

Copyright? 1977, Nasional Right To Life Committee, Inc. Suite 341, Nasional Press Blog 529 14 Street, N.W Washington, D.C. 20045

All notes reserved. No part of this manual litest or graphics, may be reproducted in any form authous written permission of the National Right To Life Commisse, Inc.

· Company of the state of the s

Pare 2 of 15

A CANADA CONTRACTOR OF THE CON



FROM THE PRESIDENT

The proof of political effectiveness is the winning vote. Getting that winning vote depends upon strong organization, strong planning, and careful strategy. The foundation of this kind of political effectiveness is knowing the voters.

The National Right to Life Committee. Inc., has launched a voter survey and identification project which will identify voters on the pro-life assuct in every voting precinct in the United States and its termines. The objective is not to develop a conversation piece but to determine accurately which voters will vote the night-to-life as the qualifying issue, those who wait not, those who don't care, and those who can be convened to vote the usue.

After field testing in California, Minois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and New York, the National Right to Life Committee, Inc., is pleased to present this VOTER SURVEY PROJECT manual to facilitate the work of our local and dedicated members who must came out the hard work of finding the voters.

Be encouraged that by winning the campaigns and the legal protection for life, you are winning the thanks of those who may never know you to thank you. But these United States, ou. America, and the world will be better for your effort.

Ruedeed F. Affream

Mildred F. Jefferson, M.D., President National Right to Life Committee, Inc. June 3, 1977

ATTACHMENT 8
Page of 5

F. LEWORD

Pro-life people active in the Right to Life movement have come to realize that we must be very creative if we are to defeat the forces who stand against us. We must develop and implement innovative programs which will capture the attention of America's citizens and her leadership. Pressure, upon those who govern, must be brought to bear by citizens of every station in life.

You have volunteered to become part of this mammoth effort. With your help, we will succeed.

Page for 5

INTRO. JCTION

Candidates for public office have always telt a compelling need to know their level of support prior to election day. During the late 1800's and early 1900's, political machine leaders directed their precinct captains to visit each registered voter in their precinct as many as three times before election day. The captains kept sharp watch as strength shifted from one candidate to another and reported their observations regularly to party headquarters.

As the election dress near, precinct captains visited undecided voters with

new literature and more persuasive arguments. As an undecided soler was moved from one column to another, the new totals were sent to headquar-

On election day, the captain working with his list of "lawntable voters," spent the day making sure that each had voted, in the strongest machine areas, each captain had a quota to fill and he worked as it his job its pendestion it hecause it usually dat.



Following WAVII, Americans on large of mosts, began to lose respect of politicians and the political process. We associate a security soting. Precinct organization tell apart, points one lose of the security points and solumeer workers became hard to too.

In the late 1950's and early 1960's point consistenced that careful political polling could identify their main support groups. Mass media advertising, particularly television, was directed specifically at those groups to get them to sole. There were substantial drawbacks to that system, first, it was very expensive. Second, the voters did not aways your and when they did, many soled for the opposition. Third the course of a set is backery little idea where they stood with the voters got the rot, make on and counted.

In order to identify vater support can apply began to torm their eight volunteer organizations. Two major provides somewhere first since most of the winkers were campaign volunteers the order was femiled second, even the most popular candidates had trained recovers enough volunteers to fulfill campaign needs.

1771 S of 15

The question then became . hat could candidates, facing limitations of money and small volunteer stalls, do to maximize the number of their supporters and make sure they voted? The most widely accepted answer resulted in the development of the Voter Identification Surveys used in politics today.

Two points pertaining to voter surveys must be understood before we look at their use by Right to Life groups

A) People tend to confuse "voter identification survey" with a "public opinion poll," The survey, as we use it, cannot be projected to apply to the electorate as a whole. We can speak only for those persons we have questioned.

B) Properly used, a well organized, full constituency soler identification survey can produce a 5% to 10% increase in a candidate signe

Now, a quick look at Right to Life survey eiforts before we start on the program.

The Voter I.D. Survey was first used by the Right to Life group in Westchester, New York. Adaptations were used in several states. Where entire congressional districts were completed—a solid majority of the households were found to be pro-life. Local Right to Life groups advised pro-life voters of the positions of both candidates concerning abortion. Happily, in most cases, the pro-life candidates won. Some actually won by majorities which startled even

the most astute political observers

As pro-lite candidates continue to win incumbent elected officials are forced to reevaluate their positions. Stans former tence-straddlers realize the value of declaring their supplied for the Human Life Amendment, and other pro-lite legislative measures. Stunning victories in one district can bring new support to our movement from politicians in districts hundreds of miles away.

As more candidates take note of our Voter I.D. operations, they are impressed by what they sire. Compared to the average political cam-

paign, RTL has many times more volunteers—and they are more decayly committed! Pro-life households appear to constitute a majority of homes in most legislative districts. The importance of this fact is that when we complete our survey and organize our get-out-the-vote operation. WE CAN DELIVER THE MARGIN OF VICTORY FOR PRO-LIFE CANDIDATES:

ATTACHMENT 8
Page 6 of 5

This is what the voter surve — all about. It is the best tool we have to show political candidates and office holders the true depth of pro-life feeling among registered voters. It also provides two important direct benefits not available through other programs. Both of these relate to our second mission—education of the public. First, the program will identify those registered voters who are undecided on abortion. We can target them for further educational efforts. Second, the block of pro-life voters we identify provides us with an immense pool of potential volunteers. Once their level of awareness regarding abortion is increased, these people can be recruited to serve in any number of ways. For the first time, your local organization will know the feelings of each voting household in your area.

WHEN WE ORGANIZE PROPERLY, TRAIN WELL AND WORK DILIGENTLY, WE WILL BECOME THE FIRST CITIZEN LOBBYING GROUP IN HISTORY TO COMPLETE A TASK OF THIS MAGNITUDE!

Page 7 of 15

Voter Identification Survey **Ouestionaire**

BEFORE YOU BIGIN - REREAD INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGES 18 & 19.

- A. Helio. Alay I speak with Katheyn Rollins? (Mwrong number, verify the number you have called and simply say you are sorry for the bother.)
- B. I am a volunteer for the National Right to Life Committee . . . (Don't pause but, if asked what N.R.L.C. is, say "a national pro-life group") we are conducting a national survey of registered voters and would greatly appreciate your help. May I ask you a few short cases.

(M "no." hang up and mark R/A (Refused to Answer) column - if "yes," continue with guirlions.)

- () 1 During recent years, abortion has become a major issue in the country. (slight pause) Are you FOR or AGAIMST abortion (slight pause) except to save the life of the mother? (Check record sheet under F(For), A(Against) or U(Undecided.)
- () 2 Do you think tax money should be used to pay for abortional (Check record sheet under Y (Yes), N (No) or U (Undecided)

ACAINST alaxium, in response to Question 1, continue here.

If FOR or UNDECIDED in response to Question 1, continue here.

- () } (a: Would you support passing a law to prevent abortion except to save the life of the mother? (Check YiYes), N'Noi or UiUndes ineci
 - law that allows "abortion on demand"? (Check Y (Yes), N (Not or U (Underides:
- Q4 (a) Would you sate AGAINST a candidate because he or she supports abortion? (Check YiYes), NINOI or UIUndecided)
- (b) Would you vote AGAINST a candidate because he or she will not support abortion? (Check Y (Yes), N (No) or U (Undecided)

(b) Do you support the present -

- Q 5 (a) How many other registered voters in your household agree with you on this issue! (Alark actual number in column 5 under A/A (Against Aburtion)
- (b) How many other registered voters in your household agree with you on this issue? (Mark actual number in column 5 under F/A (For Abortion) or U (Undecided), depending on answer to question 1.

CONTINUE WITH QUESTIONS ON PAGE 18

(2) 6 (a) Would vou classify vo. household as unting predominantly Republican, Democrator independently (Check under 8 (Kepublican), D. (Democrat), I (Independent), or S70(Split Other) or 8/A(Retured to answer)

(b) Would you classify your bousehold as voting prodominantly Republican, Democrat or Independent.

(Check under Rikepublikan), D (Denieral), Minkepenken), or S/O(Split, Other) or B/A(Refused to answer)

C. "Thank you very much for your help, it's been nice talking with you."

(Hang up)

ICHECK YOUR RECORD OF THE CALL FOR ACCURACY AND CLEAR MARKINGS. THEN PROCEED TO THE NEXT CALL.

HOW TO HANDLE THE QUESTIONS & ANSWERS.

Question A. Ask to speak with one of the registered voters BY NAME in the order APPEARING ON THE VOTER LIST. If none of the voters are available, do not leave a message, just say you will call back later.

Question B. Do not get into a discussion of what N.R.L.C. is. You will color the answers which follow:

the entire line on the residualisation and on my representations on the Record form

Column R.A. It respondents Retuse to Answer any questions, check this column and till in VOTER INFORMATION. Knowing who will not answer is also important in establishing the accuracy and quality of our survey.

Column A. Age. Use only in those states where information is shown on the Voter Registration List. DO NOT ASK for this information from the respondent.

Question 1. If a person says they are against abortion but lists any exceptions other than to save the mother's life, check F/A (for Abortion). If they say they re against abortion check A/A (Against), If a person says "I don't know," etc., check U (Undecided). If they ask you to explain the question you may only repeat it exactly as written.

Question 2. Qo not attempt to explain this quintion. Any explanation may color the respondent's answer. We want to know only if they think that tax money should be used to pay for abortions. If they say "No, except to save the like of the mother", check "No". If they give any other exception check "Yes".

Question 3.(a) Do not offer or give any explanation. Any answer which is not a simple "yes" or "no" fittis be classified as UTUndecided). If the person responds "Yes, but ..." and then lists any other exceptions, check column N (Rio).

Page of 15

(b) Ask this que: , in only if the respondent is FOR ABORTIO! (
or UNDECIDED. If the respondent says "No, except . . ." and lists any reaso
other than to save the mother's life, check Y (Yes).

Question 4. (a) If an unqualified "yes" check Y. If person qualifies the answer, such as "Yes, but not if he's a member of my party" etc., check f (No). "Don't know", etc., is shown as U (Undecided).

(b) Check Y(Yes), N(No) or U(Undecided). If the responder says "No, but ..." and lists any exception other than to save the mother's like check Y(Yes).

Question 5. If the respondent says "all of them" you can pick up the actua number from the registration list when the call is completed.

If the respondent gives an actual number show it in the appropriate column

We can show nothing for the rest of the household. Do not guessabout arrival that the respondent doesn't give.

Question 6. If you state this question without hesitation, most people will respond. If they don't, go on to "thank you, etc.," and check R/A fretused transvers.

Some states show party affiliation on their voter registration lists, (See pag-12) If yours has that information, skip question 6 but be sure to mark in the proper response.

Use the following guidelines:

- A All one parts, check proper column Republican D(Democrat), EIndependent),
- B Any other party or households with Split Party affiliations check S/O.

If voters in a household show several types of party affiliation categoriz the household on the basis of the majority of voter. If there is no clear majority categorize it as Solit (\$40).

See page 23 for special instructions for columns seven and eight.

Page Of 5

TOTAL S

OT THOUS JANOITAN VOTER JANO

CITY COMPANY SHAPE SHAPE

STATE SURVEY COO

LIFE COMMITTEE, INC.
EY PROJECT

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 200 STATE SEMANTE DISTRICT 300 STATE REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICT 400 STATE SEMANTA STATE SEMANT

	_	#1010 \$ 440 Card					1	7		_														
ļ	_	٠,	_		R	_	Н	3	H	٠,	^	إسم		-	Η	-		•			ı	-		
ł	•	۵	•	•		3	•		9	•	8	ø	*•	•		•	•	Ľ	Ľ			_		74
Î		8					8	تـــا		ø			3				Ľ	L	6	Щ	Ц	4		4
I			1			1														1				
ı	Ì						L																	
t		Z		المجور	•		7			8			3					_	00		l	*	N.	600
1	1	Ť					!			ĺ		[]							į	i	ı			
1	-	1		1) :	١,) ;									ŀ				П			
ł			-	_	-	i	-			М	_		_		_	_	Ī		_		H			
I	1			ı	İ	l	•		(į į	•				ĺ	1			l			
I		H				Į	•	•	į	}		1]			ļ]]				
ļ	_	_		┝	<u> </u>	<u>. </u>	<u>_</u>	۰.	-	┢━	<u> </u>	-	<u> </u>	-	<u>_</u>	-	<u>-</u>	<u> </u>	<u>-</u>	-		_	-	
1	ļ		ij	l	l	1	Ì	ĺ	1	i	l	1	ł	l	1	l	l	l	ı	l		1		
١					ļ	1		})	j]	}	1	}]]		}			1	İ
١					<u>_</u>		<u> </u>	_	<u> </u>	! _	┡.	-	-		_	۰.	L	٠	<u> </u>	-	۱	-	.	
ı				1	ļ	1	ŀ	1	1	1	l	ł	1	!	!	1	i	ļ.	l	ł	1	l	l	1
			J	L	1	١.	1	i	İ	l	ļ	i 	١.	,	j		<u>'</u>		ł	ì	l	1	ł	ł
١	ş			ŝ	L	13	L	L		<u> </u>	<u>1:</u>	متا	1-	<u> </u>	1	L	<u> </u>	1_		L		L	L	إ فسع
	•			•	Г	ī	Γ	ī	ī	1	Π	Γ	Г	1	ī	ī	Π	ī	ī	1	1			Ī
1	•	, '			1	١.	Ľ		١.	İ	١.	Ι.,	L	L		١	1	١	١	۱	į	ļ	1	l
	7	1		ł	١	۱:	٩	2		1.	1	۳	1	Π	1	1	ſ	1	١	Ĺ.	ľ		1	1
			8 .		•	l l	1	<u> </u>	مسور ا	1	1	_	ĺ	1	ſ	Т		Ī	7	1	1	ŗ	Γ"	مسورا ا
1	֡֟֡֝ <u>֚</u>	1	1	١	i	1	١	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Į	Ì	1	1	١	1	l	l	ı	1
1		1	1	١	1	•	1	1		1	1	ĺ	1	1		l	١	!	ı	ł	1	1	ĺ	Ì
1	-	÷		+	÷	÷	1	1	1	÷	•	÷	÷	1	خخ	T	ī	7	<u> </u>	1	1		۲	desc I
1			İ	l	1	İ	1						l	ł	1	l	1		1	1	Į	1		1
					ĺ		1	1		(ĺ		1	1	1	İ	1	ı	1	1	l			
ļ	L	Ļ	ļ.	١.	<u>.</u>	<u> </u>	╄	╄	Ļ	+	÷	Ļ	Ļ	╄-	 _	╄	÷	•	+	÷	ł	} -	╄	-
1	l			l	L	1	1	١	1	1	Í	1	١		1	1	1	1	١	1	١	1		
- (ĺ	[(1		1	1		į		1	1		l	1	1	i	1	ı			1
Į		_	<u>L</u>	L	Ļ	Ļ	Ļ	Ļ	╄	1	Ļ.	↓	1_	<u> </u>	Ļ	1	↓.	1	Ļ	↓.	4	_	1	Ļ
1		Ī	1	i	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	ŧ	t	1	ı	1	1	1	1	1	ŧ	i

ROMATOR COPY

Page 12 of 15

SURVEY RECORD FF M INSTRUCTIONS

This form should be a 3 part carbon snap-out set. One copy will be kept at the local level. One will be kept at the congressional district level. The original will be sent to the state level.

Your Team Captain will handle all distribution of copies. Please return the set to him unbroken.

We have designed two record forms. Form A, (the one used in this briok) is for use in areas where registration lists can be obtained in "street address order." Form A requires you to record the street name only once, at the top of the page. This is the most efficient way to keep our data.

If you must work with another style of list, Form B will be provided, It will be exactly the same as form A, except that it will have an extra information line for showing each respondent's street name next to their address. When using Form B, you will have to accomplish phone numbering by use of the telephone bank.

As we walk through the steps involved in completing the form, please note the completed sections of the form on pages 20 & 21.

STEP 1. Fill in information required at the top of each page. A new sheet is required if any items change.

Note: If District or Ward and Precinct numbers are not on the registration list, do not goes at them. They can be completed later,

STEP 2. Do not fill in voter information block until you are sure you are talking to the right person. Once you are sure, mark the responses to the questions first. When you have completed the call, fill in the carry address and phone section.

Note: Follow these instructions carefully as you work with the voter registration list.

- A. Completely cross oil of the registration list any homehold for which you have a wrong number. If you get a recording when you dial, line-out the correlisting. If they've moved, we'll get them when they register, it they've become unlisted, we won't be able to get a number answay.
- 8. To be absolutely certain you are putting the correct name on the record sheet, put a slash (/) to the left of the name on the registration list as you begin questioning. As you finish questioning, make it an (X). This will also show which calls you have completed without having to check through your record sheets, and will identify the specific voter you have questioned.

Page 13 of 5

Remember to start a new sk. (whenever there is a change in any of the data at the top of the sheet, i.e. Ward, Precinct, etc. . . .

- STEP 3. MARKING THE RECORD FORM. Neutress is essential. Knep all markings inside the spaces provided. When answering questions, use only check marks (,) unless numbers are needed.
 - A) Use a ball point pen, apply firm pressure. Do not use pencil, telt tip or fountain pen.
 - B) If you make any error which can not be CLEARLY corrected tremember, you are making carbon copies, too, line-out the entire respondent block and any questions which have been answered. Nove the correct information into the next respondent block. See pages 20 % 21.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLUMNS 7 & 8

- Column 7. Check only if your Voter Registration List shows that the respondent is a regular voter in primary elections.
- Column 8. M/I If respondent wants More Information, check this column and say that literature will be sent soon.

PV — If support was extremely enthusiastic, check as Potential Volunteer, for follow-up by your Team Captain.

Note: Do not tally your lists until you meet with your Team Captain. Tallies should be those after the form has been reviewed.

All information obtained on this type of survey must be kept confidential. Do not repeat any comments or information given to you by the respondents. Safeguard the survey forms and discuss them only with your Team Captain.

Page 14 of 15

•

Where do we from here?

The major part of a voter identification program involves the work you have just completed. But unless we use the data you have worked so hard to obtain, we will not reach our goal.

Four additional steps follow the completion of this work:

- 1) A DRIVE TO EDUCATE and move the undecided voter into our ranks.
- 2) A DRIVE TO INCREASE the real and level of activity of those who are pro-line right now.
- 3) A DRIVE TO IDENTIFY and motivate previously unregistered pro-life voters.
- 4) A DRIVE ON ELECTION DAY to remind pro-life voters to get out and vote.

You have provided the foundation for all of these steps. By the time they are ready to be implemented, your batteries will be recharged and you will be able to help deliver the pro-life votes which you have worked so hard to identify.



ATTACHUTUT.

age / D

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA CITIZENS CONCERNED FOR LIFE, INC. et al.,

Plaintiffs, Cause No. 3-95-1147

ν.

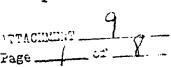
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION et al.,

Defendants.

AFFIDAVIT OF JACQUELINE A. SCHWIETZ

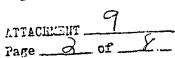
Jacqueline A. Schwietz, first being duly sworn, states as follows:

- 1. I, Jacqueline A. Schwietz, am Co-Executive Director of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. (MCCL). I make the following statements concerning MCCL based on my personal knowledge, information and belief.
- 2. MCCL has no policy, written or unwritten, against accepting donations of anything of value from business corporations. MCCL accepts donations without regard to whether they come from corporations or other business entities. MCCL does not distinguish in its record-keeping between donations from corporate and non-corporate entities, but does distinguish between donations from business donors and non-business donors.
- To the best of my knowledge and recollection, MCCL has not received any donations from labor unions; however, MCCL has no policy, written or unwritten, against accepting donations from



labor unions.

- 4. MCCL's General Fund had total revenues in the following amounts for the following years: (a) 1991 \$763,914.00 (b) 1992 \$773,650.00 (c) 1993 \$888,865.00 (d) 1994 \$864,960.00 (e) 1995 \$881,624.00.
- 5. In 1991, MCCL accepted into its General Fund \$743,829.34 in donations from non-business donors and \$10,792.00 in donations from business donors. In that year, therefore, non-business donations to the General Fund accounted for 98.57% of total donations, while business donations accounted for 1.43% of total donations.
- 6. In 1992, MCCL accepted into its General Fund \$748,174.68 in donations from non-business donors and \$7,430.77 in donations from business donors. In that year, therefore, non-business donations to the General Fund accounted for 99.02% of total donations, while business donations accounted for .98% of total donations.
- 7. In 1993, MCCL accepted into its General Fund \$871,744.25 in donations from non-business donors and \$10,621.05 in donations from business donors. In that year, therefore, non-business donations to the General Fund accounted for 98.80% of total donations, while business donations accounted for 1.20% of total donations.
- 8. In 1994, MCCL accepted into its General Fund \$805,788.85 in donations from non-business donors and \$15,958.98 in donations from business donors. In that year, therefore, non-business



donations to the General Fund accounted for 98.06% of total donations, while business donations accounted for 1.94% of total donations.

- 9. In 1995, MCCL accepted into its General Fund \$865,141.90 in donations from non-business donors and \$8,523.06 in donations from business donors. In that year, therefore, non-business donations to the General Fund accounted for 99.02% of total donations, while business donations accounted for .98% of total donations.
- 10. During the period between 1991 and 1995, MCCL raised the following amounts of revenue for its General Fund from the sale of advertising in its newsletter: (a) 1991 \$0.00; (b) 1992 \$7,245.76; (c) 1993 \$0.00; (d) 1994 \$7,909.94; (e) 1995 \$0.00.
- 11. During the period between 1991 and 1995, the percentages of General Fund revenues attributable to sales of advertising space were as follows: (a) 1991 0%; (b) 1992 .9366%; (c) 1993 0%; (d) 1994 .9145%; (e) 1995 0%.
- 12. During the period between 1991 and 1995, MCCL raised the following amounts of revenue for its General Fund from the rental of its membership list: (a) 1991 \$305.51; (b) 1992 \$21,861.11; (c) 1993 \$0.00; (d) 1994 \$18,970.46; (e) 1995 0%.
- 13. During the period between 1931 and 1995, the percentages of General Fund revenues attributable to the rental of

MCCL's membership list were as follows: (a) 1991 - .4327%; (b) 1992 - 2.8257%; (c) 1993 - 0%; (d) 1994 - 2.1518%; (e) 1995 - 0%.

- 14. Local chapters of MCCL hold traditional fundraising events such as bake sales, wreath sales, corsage sales and walkathons. Such fundraising activities represent a minor portion of the revenues available to MCCL's General Fund. Attached hereto as Exhibit A are the first and second pages of MCCL's financial statements for the years 1991-1994.
- 15. Such fundraising activities are not expressly described as requests for donations that may be used for political purposes, such as supporting or opposing candidates.
- 16. MCCL offers its members the opportunity to engage in the Resource for Action Mastercard program. Such program offers MCCL's members the opportunity to obtain "affinity credit cards" through MCCL.
- 17. MCCL makes solicitations for donations to its General Fund through direct mail, telemarketing and major gift solicitations. When MCCL makes such solicitations, it does not inform potential donors that their donations may be used for political purposes, such as supporting or opposing candidates.
- 18. Prior to October 5, 1995, MCCL made expenditures for communications to the general public which discussed the positions of candidates for federal office on issues of concern to MCCL. Such communications were paid for from MCCL's General Fund. In such communications, the candidates whose positions on issues were discussed were clearly identified, by name and/or by APFIDAVIT OF

ATTACHMENT 9
Page 4 cf 8

JACQUELINE A. SCHWIETZ

photograph. Such communications were made without consultation, cooperation or coordination with the candidates involved or any authorized committees or agents of such candidates. Furthermore, such expenditures were not made at the request or suggestion of any such candidates, or of any agents or authorized committees of such candidates.

- 19. Examples of communications such as those described in the preceding paragraph are attached hereto as follows. Exhibit B contains a copy of the MCCL Newsletter for November, 1992. Exhibit C contains a copy of the MCCL Newsletter for November, 1994. The expenditures for the MCCL Newsletter itself were paid for out of MCCL's General Fund; however, the expenditures for the advertisements contained therein were paid for from separate segregated funds. Exhibit D contains a telephone script for getout-the-vote telephone calls made in connection with the 1994. U.S. Senate race. The get-out-the-vote telephone script contained in Exhibit D was paid for out of MCCL's General Fund.
- 20. MCCL believes that the communications described in the preceding paragraph would constitute "independent expenditures" under the definition of "express advocacy" at 11 C.F.R. § 100.22(b) and, therefore, would constitute prohibited corporate expenditures under the requirements for "qualified nonprofit corporation" status at 11 C.F.R. § 114.10. MCCL believes, however, that it has the right to engage in such expenditures under 2 U.S.C. § 441b as construed by the Supreme Court in Federal Election Commission v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life,

AFFIDAVIT OF JACQUELINE A. SCHWIETZ 5 ATTACHET 9
Page 5

Inc., 107 S.Ct. 616 (1986) and the Bighth Circuit is Day v. Bolahan, 36 F.3d 1356 (6th Cir. 1994).

- make expenditures for communications substantially similar to those described in the preceding three paragraphs. MCCL intends to begin immediately to make expenditures for such communications with respect to the September 10, 1996 primary election, in which candidates for federal office will be chosen. However, MCCL has not made such expenditures since October 5, 1995, because of the threat and fear that the regulations of the Federal Blection Commission located at 11 C.F.R. § 114.10(a)-(f) would be employed so as to enforce the statutory prohibition on corporate expenditures against MCCL.
- I, Jacqueline A. Schwietz, make the statements contained herein to the best of my personal knowledge, information and belief, under penalty of perjury.

Jacqueline A. Schwietz
Co-Executive Director

Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc.

3-4-9

Date

State of Mintesota 1
County of ANNEDIN ;

11

Before me, a Notary Public in and for said State and County, personally appeared Jacqueline A. Schwietz, and acknowledged the

APPIDAVIT OF JACQUELINE A. SCENIETE

_

ATTICES O

execution of the foregoing instrument and made oath that the information provided therein was made to the best of her personal knowledge, information and belief, and where based on information and belief, she believes the information to be true.

Witness my hand and notarial seal this _____ day of

/ arch , 1996.

Notary Public

My commission expires:

Jan. 31 , 2000.

AFFIDAVIT OF A SCHWIETE

ATTAC

1994 General Election - MCCL GOTV Script

U.S. SENATE - Grams

Hello.	May !	speak	to		,
--------	-------	-------	----	--	---

I'm calling to remind you to vote on Tuesday in the U.S. Senate election.

There are now 4,300 abortions a day, and each abortion takes the life of a living human child.

ANN WYNIA supports abortion on demand, and ANN WYNIA supports using your tax dollars to pay for abortion.

ROD GRAMS is against abortion on demand, and ROD GRAMS opposes using your tax dollars to pay for abortion.

Your vote is important. Please vote on Tuesday. Thank you.

11TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1993 Information Access Company, a Thomson Corporation
Company
ASAP

Copyright 1993 American Spectator
The American Spectator

March, 1993

SECTION: Vol. 26; No. 3; Pg. 40; ISSN: 0148-8414

LENGTH: 1779 words

HEADLINE: Coverdell's winning formula; Paul Coverdell, US Republican Senator;

Politics

BYLINE: Norquist, Grover

BODY:

Many Republicans were quick to ask whether they lost November's election on the explosive social issues, abortion in particular. Maybe the abortion issue helped Reagan in 1980 and 1984, the reasoning went, but now that Roe v. Wade was cracking up, the pro-choicers were getting as active and agitated as the pro-lifers had been in reaction to Roe v. Wade itself. Should the party purge Pat Robertson, evangelicals, Phyllis Schlafly and Pat Buchanan? Would the Republican presidential primary contest for 1996 be a civil war?

Mutual suspicion could have continued for years, but the party was quickly put to a real challenge--the November 24 runoff for Georgia's U.S. Senate seat held by Democrat Wyche Fowler and contested by Republican Paul Coverdell. The runoff, made necessary by the failure of either candidate to win an absolute majority on November 3 (Fowler had polled 49 percent, Coverdell 48), was important by any calculation. With only forty-two seats in the Senate and Oregon's Bob Packwood in trouble, the Republicans were in danger of falling below the forty-one votes necessary to maintain a filibuster.

And Georgia had always been a rock-solid exception to the recent history of Republican successes in the South. Georgia is the only state in the nation that has not elected a Republican governor in the last hundred years. Prior to 1992, only one Georgia Republican had been elected U.S. Senator, and that had been under unusual circumstances. (In 1980, Mack Mattingly was swept into office by the Reagan landslide, against an incumbent weakened by alcohol and ethics charges.)

Coverdell's 17,000-vote victory in the runoff--in the face of visits on Fowler's behalf by Clinton and Gore--was a defining moment for Republicans: it showed that the entire governing Reagan coalition can be reassembled, even as the issues change.

The National Right to Work Committee, with 2 million members nationwide, took out newspaper ads, and sent two mailings to their Georgia membership highlighting the fact that Coverdell supported Right to Work laws, and Fowler did not. The small business community was active for Coverdell. The National

ATTACHHENT _	10	_
A I I I U LIVE L	. 4	•
Page	. 01	



Federation of Independent Businesses (NFIB) mailed to its 17,000 Georgia members a piece that contrasted the stands of Coverdell, himself a successful small businessman, and Fowler. NFIB established a phone tree highlighting the importance of this campaign to small businessmen. (1) The U.S. Chamber of Commerce weighed in for Coverdell.

The National Rifle Association mailed three times to its Georgia membership of 90,000 (who also were sent NRA bumper stickers reading "Sportsmen for Coverdell"). The NRA also sent out 250,000 flyers to gun dealers and gun clubs so that they could share factual information on the stands of Coverdell and Fowler the gun-grabber. For the last four days of the runoff, the NRA ran ads on sixty-eight radio stations ten times a day. Six campaign activists came into the state to help thirty volunteer activists run a phone bank for the final six nights that called all 90,000 NRA members in Georgia. Charlton Heston flew into Georgia, his boyhood home, for a day of non-stop campaigning.

Such sustained and targeted professional campaigns were denied to President Bush, whose administration made concessions to union bosses in key cases and banned the importation of some assault rifles. Bush's positions won him neither support nor money nor even civility from the side he was trying to placate. He simply convinced two parts of his natural base--gun owners and union opponents--that he could not be trusted to protect them. On election day they had other things to do.

All the expected organs of Main Street Republicanism did their part in Georgia. Senators Phil Gramm. Bob Dole, Mitch McConnell, and John Warner, along with Jack Kemp and Lynn Martin, all traveled into the state to help Coverdell. Sen. John McCain, a war here and former North Vietnamese POW, wrote a letter to Georgia veterans, opposing Fowler and endorsing Coverdell. But there were new elements to the coalition at well-term-limit advocates, the Perot state organizers, and the Libertarian party endorsed and campaigned for Coverdell.

Coverdell was a low-tax, small-government traditional Republican who had supported George Bush over Peagan in 1980, over Robertson in 1988, and over Buchanan in 1991. He was also pro-choice on abortion. Very much so. In the 1992 primary, Coverdell ran against and defeated, first John Knox, a pro-life advocate, and next, in another runoff, former U.S. Attorney Bob Barr. How, then, could Coverdell draw on the support of the Christian right, so crucial to Reagan-era candidates?

The pro-life leaders, pro-family groups, and traditional values-supporting evangelicals caucused and came up with a nuanced approach. Coverdell would not vote for the Human Life Amendment to ban almost all abortions—the touchstone of the pro-life community for almost twenty years. But Fowler would vote for the Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA), which would forbid any restrictions of abortions at all—even for sex selection, parental notification, or late-term abortions. Coverdell would allow some state restrictions and therefore vote against FOCA.

That was the critical divide that set the stage for a new and welcome departure for Republicans: a moderate's moderate elected with the enthusiastic support of the religious right. The Christian Coalition, the political organization formed in the wake of Pat Robertson's 1988 presidential bid, set up phone banks and delivered 1.2 million nonpartisan "voter guides"--contrasting the candidates' positions on FOCA, Prayer in School, and taxes--to evangelical

ATTACINET 10
Page 2 of 4



÷ -

. = +. ! :



activists. State Christian Coalition Chairman Pat Garland put 8,000 miles on his van distributing the voter guides. The Committee for a Pro-Life Congress spent some \$ 30,000 in radio advertising highlighting the difference between the candidates on the Freedom of Choice Act. Phyllis Schlafly, the founder and leader of the Republican National Coalition for Life, the group committed to keeping the pro-life language in the Republican platform, pointed to the threat posed by FOCA in the mailing she sent to pro-lifers in support of Coverdell. The Focus on the Family radio news program "Family News in Focus" appeared on fifty-four radio stations with a special on the Coverdell/Fowler face-off that emphasized the abortion difference.

Coverdell, who clashed with evangelicals throughout the years, now praises the "pragmatism" of Christian Coalition leaders like Garland and national Executive Director Ralph Reed. Consultant Roger Stone, an early Reagan backer and ardent pro-choicer who fought to remove anti-abortion language from the Republican platform, also finds the Georgia victory encouraging. "The great war (over abortion) everyone expects doesn't have to happen," he says. Stone thinks, however, that a "perception of an abortion litmus test" in the Republican party hurts the party, while admitting that "the economy was the driving force" in the Bush loss.

But the platform was pro-life in 1984 and 1988, two very good years for Republican candidates. Had the American public changed its mind on the abortion issue?

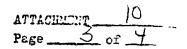
Probably not. A Wirthlin exit poll found that abortion was one of the one or two issues that "mattered most" for 16 percent of voters. Among those voters, Bush won, 68 percent to 25 percent, giving him a net gain of 6.9 percent on the abortion issue. A Voter Research and Surveys exit poll commissioned by the four major networks found 13 percent of voters had abortion as "one of the one or two issues that mattered most" and this 13 percent broke for Bush 55 to 36 percent, giving him a net plus of 2.5 percent. The VRS poll also asked the same question on family issues and found a 6.5 percent advantage for Bush there. The argument that the abortion issue hurt Bush appears to come primarily from Democrats and from Republicans who have always been uncomfortable with the anti-abortion position of the rest of the party.

Even if the abortion issue cut for Bush in a narrow sense, the establishment press was insistent that the Christian right--particularly its performance at the Houston convention--hurt Republicans overall. Poll numbers tell a different story. The ABC News/Washington Post poll taken on the Sunday before the convention found George Bush trailing Bill Clinton 57 to 36 percent. Seven days later, after Reagan, Buchanan, and Pat Robertson spooked America, the Bush campaign had closed the gap by fifteen points.

The Coverdell race bodes well for the upcoming Senate race in Texas and the 1994 elections, where the Democrats must defend twenty-two seats to the Republicans' twelve.

First, the conservative coalition of small businesses, taxpayers, gun owners, pro-lifers, right-to-work supporters, and pro-family activists can defeat the get out the vote efforts of politicized black churches and labor unions.

Second, the tax issue is back, and cutting for the Republicans. Coverdell







campaign manager Tom Perdue made Fowler's vote in favor of the 1990 budget deal central to the campaign. Fowler tried to point out that the 1990 tax hike was, after all, a Bush proposal, but Coverdell hammered away. If George Bush was Darman's first victim, Wyche Fowler was his second, and Congress is full of such targets.

Third, the Coverdell election was the first where the discussion of abortion centered on a Freedom of Choice Act rather than a possible Human Life Amendment. In past years, a candidate was accepted as pro-life if he supported a Human Life Amendment that would outlaw almost all abortions. Now a candidate is objectively pro-life if he opposes FOCA, which contains a pro-choice position supported by only 12 percent of the American people. The scramble by "moderate" Republicans to try and change the party's abortion language is silly, for the hard-line Democratic language on abortion is now at odds with 88 percent of the electorate. As soon as those Republicans who have always been pro-choice "with exceptions" find themselves on the other side of the barricades from NOW and NARAL, pro-lifers will become willing and welcome allies. Bill Clinton's signing of the FOCA is about to change the entire terrain upon which the abortion wars will be fought.

1 Political hacks in Washington foolishly compare the political clout of labor unions and Fortune 500 businesses. The real comparison is between 17 million union members--many of them belonging only because of compulsory union laws--and 11 million small business owners.

Grover Norquist is president of Americans for Tax Reform.

GRAPHIC: Cartoon; Graph

IAC-NUMBER: IAC 14465479

IAC-CLASS: Magazine

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: August 25, 1995

Page 4 ... 4

Election D

U.S. Senate

ISSUES

Lèague of Catholic Voters The Christian Coalition









Increased Federal Income Taxes	Opposes	Opposes	Supports
Federal Gov't. Control of Health Care	Opposes	Opposes	Supports
Abortion on Demand	Supports	Opposes	Supports
Taxpayer Funding of Abortion	Opposes	Opposes .	Supports
Parental Choice in Education	Supports	Supports	Opposes
Voluntary Prayer in Public Schools	No Response*	Supports	Opposes
Homosexuals in the Military	No Response*	Opposes	Supports
Taxpayer Funding of Obscene Art	No Response*	Opposes	Supports
Term Limits for Congress	Supports	Supports	Opposes
Banning Ownership of Legal Firearms	Opposes	Opposes	Supports



Congressional

District 8



Jim Morah



BYRNE

Congressional District 11



	The state of the s	
Opposes	Increased Federal Income Thies	Supports
Supports	Balanced Budged Amendment of	
Opposes	Countries on Dental Countries	Supports
Opposes	Impayer Funding of Obscene Art	Supports
Opposes.	and Congression in the Ministry	. Supports
Supports	到。这种对别 <i>是</i> 这是	Opposes

Sapports		Toposes
Opposer:	Classical Control	Supporte
Sapports	A straight of a straight of the outlier.	Opposed.
Supports	Tempoyer free long of Designe Art.	Opposes :
Supporter		Opposes.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 1.STORY

Copyright 1994 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

November 12, 1994, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part D; COMMENTARY; EDITORIALS; LETTERS; Pg. D2

LENGTH: 212 words

HEADLINE: The organization Bill Bennett hopes for already exists

BODY:

() ()

The your Oct 23 news article, you quoted William Bennett's call for "Catholics to form their own version of the Christian Coalition. Allow me to minform you that such an organization has already been formed."

That organization, the League of Catholic Voters, was incompared in July

The goal of the League of Catholic Voters is improve our society —in union with the teachings of the pope and Magisterium — through the democratic process. It does not advocate the electron or defeat of any candidate and does not endorse any political party. The objective is to build a permanent, non-partisan, issues-oriented, grass-roots information network, a network dedicated to identifying, informing and mobilizing voters who are seeking to make our government more responsive to the concerns of Catholics.

me and is to educate Catholics about public policy and train them for seffective of trenship. We have begun by establishing committees, which have been organizing telephone alert networks of their own.

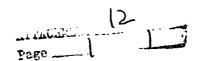
Anyone who is interested in obtaining more information can write the league at PC For 1738, Springfield, Va., 22151, or call Tom Kerwin at 703/237-3892 or Kev of Polisio, at 703/573-7748

F O NAGGETTA

Accession in

LANGUAGE: FIRE TOP

KRAC TATE I DEMANDE IT 1994



Editorial

Editor's Desk

'Take Heart; Have Courage'

The ministers to the minister when he himself is under duress and stress?

That question was asked—and answered—by Arlington Bishop John R. Kesting during his homily at the Holy Thursday Chrism Mass celebrated March 31 at the Cathedral of St. Thomas More.

"No one denies that the priest of the 1988s is under special stress," the bishop said. "The priest's role as moral teacher has been staken, especially in the area of sexual behavior, when the world about us steems to set its town standards in direct opposition to the standards of the gospel.

"In the prest conciliar church polarizations within the preshyterale, even within a rectury, can be an enervating source of friction and discouragement," the bishop said. The shortage of preests has increased the work load of many priests, and the diminished number of vocations today seems trumpeted by the media, aumelow conveying the presthoid as an unpuspitat and undestrable way of life in these times. And if this were not enough, the media seem to take delight in publishing allegations of priestly sins from many years ago; whether priven or unproven, whether true or take."

Bishop Keating urged his brother priests to find their consulation, strength, and, above all, courage, in the passion and death of Jesus Uhrist.

"Courage is the gift of the Hely Spirit that energizes us, inspires us to the what is right when it is

difficult to do so. The said "Courage gives us a carry on when we are ted up or misunderunappreciated."

or have courage means to have heart." The hishop tail. "To be discribingled is to be broken hearied, broken in spent, overcome, with apatic, similars,

Bisnop Realing said the key message of Hols Thursday can be found in Jesus' message to the Apostles as described in 5t. Matthew's Congel. "Folk heart, doin the alread. I am with you. I am with you at all times, to the very end."

Jesus community formed His Apposites in the virtue of courtage, and the bishop "in training his aposites to factorie shepherds, the land regularly educated and imported them, step by step, in courage — a virtue that is so central not only to a priest's own well being and effectiveness as a spiritual leader, but after to his ability to rise showe himself and become more like Chirst, the Sun of Grag."

Bishop hearing and Thomas Mine, paints saint of the cathedral and the diverse, was a perfect example of one who maintained his courage, even in the face of certain death, by placing his trust in the fand

Hote Thursday is a special time for Catholic practs since the hittiges commemorate the institution of the bucharist and the priesthinol

The Chrism Mass is a moving experience for the clergy and the larly Instance enough to participate For these who could not attend the cathedral celebration, we have reprinted the entire text of Bishop Keating's homily in this week's assoc beginning on page (see

Similar Holy Thursday celebrations take place at cathedrals throughout the world, including St. Peter's Basilton in Rome

"Today is our true feast day, the moment in which every normal gathers amound his own hishop," Pope John told hundreds of priests gathered in St Per

J made as participants in His priesthood," he said. "Today, more than any other day, we thank the Lord for this participation" — M.F.F.

Kathleen Howley

'Letters from the Desert'

Lix years ago, in the early days of my conversion from a lapted Cathudic to an active member of the Church, an elderly Jesuit priest handed nat a health by Carlo Carretto (titled, Letters from the Dessert.

"Just read it." was my friend's only comment.

The bank begins: "God's call is mysterious; it comes in the darkness of faith. It is so fine, so subtle, that it is only with the decreast silence within us that we can bear it. And yet nothing is so decrease and overpeasering for a man on this earth, nighting sires or stronger."

That was my introduction to the little way of Charles de Foncauld, the man who Carretto followed into the Sahara Desert to join the religious community he founded, the Little Brothers of Jesus.

Fourauld, from in 1858, was a member of a French aristocratic family. In his earliest years, his mother gave him the first imprint of the Catholic faith. But she died during a miscarriage when Charles was five years old.

Later, at the age of 15, he lost his belief.
"For 12 years I number rejected or believed anything; I
shared of the truth and did not even believe in God, for
no print of this easilence seemed adequate; Funcauld

wrese
He hecame a saldier, went to Africa as an officer, and lived his life without a namal compass

During expensage measures, he mayed among the Mustim people, and developed a knowledge of their religion. His courage won him many honors. Then, at the age of 28, after his return to Paris, he was converted to Catholicism.

"At first, faith had many obstacles to overcome. I had distinct so very much that I did not believe everything all at since. For instance, I would find the Goopel miracles incredible, or try to mira processes from the Koran with my Chrastan prayers." Postcauld wrote:

These were his first hans steps in tater years, Foucauld gave his whole heart to look, and for his followers he was an example of faithfulness and orthodoxy

He herame a press and went hack to the desert of southern Algeria to live as a Christian witness among people who were firstile to his religion. He loved them and served them humbly. He was the only Catholic many of them ever met.

The story of his life and his conversion is recounted in the book. Two Dancers in the Desert, by Charles Lepetit. But, back to my own conversion. I recently picked up to the Desert contribution the Constitution.

rou, nack in my own conversion. I recently picked up Letters from the Desert, containing the teachings of Funcatid, as writed by Carretin, and began re-reading the parts I had underlined six years ago. Here are a lew of the passages that moved me then, in those early days of my rehirth in the taith:

"Don't try to reach God with your understanding; that is impossible. Reach Him in love; that is possible."

"The weight of the world was all on Christ Crucified."
"We are the wire. God is the current. Our only power is
to let the current pass through us. Of course, we have the
power to interrupt it and say. "No." But nothing none."

"The love of God is by nature pure, balanced and body. Whoever is dominated by it loves in deep peace, has an ordered view of things and knows the meaning of true free-dom."

During my first reading of Letters from the Desert, I remember being struck by how similar life in pagan America was to the experiences of Foucauld and Carretto in the great Sahara Desen. Oddly, I remembered a geography lesson in which a teacher transposed an outline of America onto a map of Africa, to show us the magnitude of the Sahara—it was the same size as the U.S.

Life in the desen, Fouchuld taught, can teach us the quality of "juyful wedeseness." Using a water image, in the land with little water, he said, "We must put in the tern and now. God is steering the hoat."

It's an important message for those who live in the spiritual desert of modern America. Our only responsibilities are to remain faithful to the teachings of Christ's Church, to take action when the Holy Spirit primpts as, and to have. They are seemingly simple tasks, yet they can be the challenges of a lifetime.

Howley is a freelance writer living in the Bussun area.

Frank Nassetta

Who Will Reform Modern Society?

To are surrounded by a pagan society. It is often health in all religion. Some people even consuler to a threat to democracy. This has led Father Avery Dulles, a removed Catholic theologian, to would the atom. He is concerned about the segual, political and legal engineering designed to establish segual volums in our microsociety.

The media is often anti-Cathida: — trotting out the obligatory dissidents on every outsiana, and trying to embarrate the Church at the slightest pretent (like CNN did in the case of Cardinal Hermandra). The entertainment industry is promoting trach of eatists infidelity, nex outside of marriage, humas estable, whence and either agnores or ridicules religious beliefs. And in our actions, "religious cleaning" is in full bloom. Even a five-year-old girl in a Michigan hundrigaten was told that the could not pray before the had bet softend smark.

The government is invading our lives with its aminal agenda of promising condom distribution, abundons, humo-scaulity and fetal-troug research

Violent crime rates have more than quadrupled in the last 30 years while the median prison sentence for serious crimes has declined by a fourth.

Muslem sucial pathologies seem largely impervious to government spending. Since 19th), while population increased 41 percent, inflation-adjusted spending has increased 6.01 percent on welfare and 2.25 percent on education. Yet there is an ever-increasing call for more government spending and symmol. And all this government spending is having a negative impact or families. First, because many of the governmental programs have exacerbated some of the families: problems. Second, because people with children are paying a proportionally higher part of the tax load than they did after World War II. If it had kept poce with inflation, the standard deduction of \$2300 their would

he SHIRM) now. Because of these confincatory tax rates, mothers and fathers often both work for the sole purpose of paying for taxes, meals, wardrobe and day care.

Of course, in light of all this, Catholics need to intensely pray for and evangetize our society. We need to be salt and leaven in our families, neighborhoods and work places. But we also need to exercise our responsibilities and rights as citizens of a republic. Only then will our representatives reflect our values. Concerned Catholics must unite with other Christians to improve our society.

One organization that is trying to improve the anciety through the democratic process is the Christian Chalition. The Christian Chalition does not advocate the election or defeat of any condidate, and does not endorse any political party. Neither does it want to form a theocracy as some have charged.

The objective is to build a permanent, non-partisan, taxues-oriented grass coars organization. It is an organization dedicated to identifying, informing and mobilizing profamily voters, voters who can speak out against anti-Christian bigotry; and voters who can make our government more responsive to the concerns of orthodox Christians and profamily Americans.

For example, the Christian Coalition in Los Angeles had 700 Korean churches, 200 Catholic churches and 50 black churches distribute voter guides for the mayoral primaries held last year. And in New York City, the Coalition distributed one-fifth of 500,000 voter guides, through 213 Catholic parishes.

Caulition chapters are now being formed in Northern Virginia, one for each local congressional district. For more information about becoming part of this movement call me at 703/280-2346

Nassetta is a member of St. Ambrone Parish in Annandale.

Law Offices Webster. Chamberlain & Bean

1747 Pennsylvania Avenue. N.W. Washington. D.C. 20008 (202) 785-9500 Fax: (202) 835-0249

JEDNAGE D WEESTER
J COLEMAN BEAN
ALOND REPOLD
ALOND DE
EDWARD O COLEMAN
BURKETT WAN KIRK
FRANK IN NORTHAN
DERARD P BANAGO
JOHN W HAZARD JR
CHARLES M WATKINS
BUONK W WEESTER
BOOK OF SOME

TIMOTHY W SMITH

er coursel Charles e Chamberlain

MUGH MECANEY

December 15, 1993

Anne A. Weissenborn, Esq. Office of General Commission 999 E Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: Christian Coalition MUR 3669

Dear Ms. Weissenborn:

Enclosed are the Christian Coalition's responses to the Commission's requests for documents in MUR 3669 as well as copies of the documents that have been requested. In the near future, I will obtain Mr. Reed's signature on the verification appended to the written response and forward a complete and verified response to you.

Should you have any questions concerning the documents provided or the Christian Coalition's responses, please let me know.

Sincerely, Speck Mr ofther

Frank M. Northam

FMN/atc Enclosure

cc: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.

ATTACHMENT 4

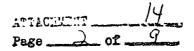
BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

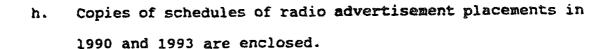
In the Matter of)		
)	MUR	3669
Christian Coalition)		

CHRISTIAN COALITION'S RESPONSES TO REQUESTS FOR DOCUMENTS

For its responses to the Commission's Document Videotape/Audiocassette Requests, the Christian Coalition states as follows:

- a. Christian Coalition's Form 990 for 1992 is enclosed.
- b. A copy of the 1993 annual report filed with the State of Virginia is enclosed.
- c. Enclosed are the following documents:
 - (i) lists of regional, state directors, and key contacts for 1991, 1992 and 1993;
 - (ii) a list of full and part-time staff as of November 29, 1993;
 - (iii) lists of state affiliate board members.
- d. Enclosed is an organizational chart as of 1992.
- e. Copies of all "Leadership Reports" since its inception in August, 1991, are enclosed.
- f. Leadership School schedules for 1990 through 1993 are enclosed.
- g. Copies of all bimonthly "grassroots development series" audiocassettes are enclosed.

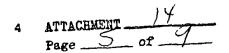




- a. A copy of the flyer announcing the 1991 Road to Victory Conference is enclosed; also enclosed is a sample letter of invitation sent to potential speakers.
- b. The conference is funded through the registration fees paid by attendees. Christian Coalition does not have a list of attendees for the 1991 conference.
- c. Some speakers accept or decline over the phone. To the extent that letters accepting or declining an invitation to speak remain in Christian Coalition's files, copies are enclosed.
- d. Enclosed is a list labeled "3's and 4's Nation Wide" that is updated through 1993. All of the individuals in this list, who were on the list in 1991, 1992 and 1993, would have been sent flyers concerning the Road to Victory conferences to be held in those years.
- e. A copy of the official, printed conference program is enclosed.
- f. The conference program includes a listing of workshops.
- g. The conference program includes a listing of speakers.
- h. A copy of the Strategy and Briefing book is enclosed.
- i. A chapter starter kit is enclosed. Except for added memoranda and cassette tapes, the starter kit has been the same for the years 1991, 1992 and 1993.

- j. The only other materials provided to attendees of Road to Victory conferences are packets including maps of the hotel, order forms for tapes and a Christian American Newspaper. Sample packets are not kept from year to year.
- a. Copies of flyers announcing the 1992 and 1993 Road to Victory Conferences are enclosed; also enclosed are sample letters of invitation to speakers.
 - b. Lists of attendees and registration fees paid for the 1992 and 1993 conferences are enclosed.
 - c. Some speakers accept or decline by phone. To the extent that letters accepting or declining an invitation to speak remain in Christian Coalition's files, copies are enclosed.
 - d. Enclosed is a list labeled "3's and 4's Nation Wide" that is updated through 1993. All of the individuals in this list, who were on the list in 1991, 1992 and 1993, would have been sent flyers concerning the Road to Victory conferences to be held in those years.
 - e. Copies of the official, printed conference programs for 1992 and 1993 are enclosed.
 - f. The conference programs include a listing of workshops.
 - g. The conference programs include a listing of speakers.
 - h. No strategy and briefing books were provided in 1992 and 1993.

- i. The Chapter Starter Kit provided in response to Request #2.i. was available in 1992 and 1993.
- j. The only other materials provided to attendees of Road to Victory conferences are packets including maps of the hotel, order forms for tapes and a Christian American newspaper. Sample packets are not necessarily kept from year to year.
- k. Videotapes and audiocassettes for 1992 and 1993 Road to Victory conferences are enclosed. Christian Coalition is out of stock of several of the sessions and, therefore, some videotapes/audiocassettes may not be included.
- 4. (The materials provided in response to Request #4 were obtained from Christian Coalition of Montana, an organization that is not subject to the control of Christian Coalition).
 - a. A sample letter of invitation is enclosed. A copy of the brochure referred to in the letter is enclosed with the conference program packet produced in response to Request #4.e.
 - b. A copy of the conference attendee list is enclosed.
 - c. Copies of materials relating to potential speakers are enclosed.
 - d. The Christian Coalition has no information in regard to this request other than the list provided in response to Reguest # 4.b.
 - e. A copy of the conference program packet is enclosed.
 - f. The conference program includes a listing of workshops.



- g. The conference program includes a listing of speakers.
- h. None were distributed.
- i. None were distributed.
- j. The Christian Coalition is unaware of any other manuals, etc. that might have been distributed.
- k. Videotapes and audiocassettes for the conference are enclosed. (These tapes were obtained from Christian Coalition of Montana).

- a. Enclosed is a memorandum dated December 1, 1993, from Guy Rodgers to Ralph Reed indicating whether voter identification programs were undertaken in the designated States. The telephone script that would have been used is that set forth in the Christian Coalition's precinct canvass materials. Copies of those materials and a revised script for 1993 are enclosed.
- b. Copies of get-out-the-vote telephone scripts are enclosed.
- c. Copies of Christian Coalition voter guides for the 1992 elections are enclosed.
- d. The precinct canvass materials submitted as Attachment B of the Coalition's response to the complaint in MUR 3475 are the same materials that would have been used in the designated states and years.

e. Copies of the Christian American for 1991, 1992 and 1993 are enclosed to the extent that issues of the newspaper can be located in the Christian Coalition's files.

I swear that the foregoing answers to interrogatories and responses to requests for documents are true and accurate to the best of my information, knowledge and belief.

Ralph E. Reed, Jr.	
SUBSCRIBED and SWORN to before me this _	day of
	•
, 1993.	
Notary Public	
Mu Damiasias Dunius	
My Commission Expire	s:

In Va Beach

MICHAEL FLEIG P. JX 9560 BALTIMORE, MD 21237

MR & MRS WALLACE WARD 2900 SHIPMASTER WAY UNIT 305 ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401

OPHILIP RANDALLS
OPEN BOX 3263
CUMBERLAND, MD 21504

CHUCK PARKS
OLD RR 40
FILINTSTONE, MD 21530

ELIZABETH MCALLISTER 29475 OLD LOCUST GROVE RD KENNEDYVILLE, MD 21645

RODNEY DAVIS
2 ROBERTO MILL RD APT 10
TANEYTOWN, MD 21787

BOB VASS PC 7X 212 A , VA 22001

RICK WOOD RR 1 BOX 288-A AMISSVILLE, VA 22002

MARK & MONICA BILL 4617 COLUMBIA RD ANNANDALE, VA 22003

MR R S GUADAGNO 3622 TERRACE DR ANNANDALE, VA 22003

SHARON MEISEL 4941 ORISKANY DR ANNANDALE, VA 22003

MICHAEL ROBINETTE 4916 SCHUYLER DR ANNANDALE, VA 22003 HARRY S VALENTINE III 1324 CAPE SAINT CLAIRE RD # 180 ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401

MR RICHARD E WEISS 950 MARINE DR ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401

JOHN CALLIGAN 10101 HUMMINGBIRD ST ELLERSLIE, MD 21529

BRIAN BAUGUS 1200 S WASHINGTON ST #1301 EASTON, MD 21601

JOHN POOLE PO BOX 598 MIDDLETOWN, MD 21769

TOM EWING 1205 ORCHARD CIR SALISBURY, MD 21801

JAN PARSONS 1051 SHETLEY RD AMISSVILLE, VA 22002

GERALD & JO ANDERSON 7653 ROYSTON ST ANNANDALE, VA 22003

CHRISTY ANNE COLLINS 4941 ORISKANY DR ANNANDALE, VA 22003

MATT & JEANETTE B LUCAS 8718 STARK RD ANNANDALE, VA 22003

FRANK NASSETTA 8202 HILLCREST RD ANNANDALE, VA 22003

KENNETH HAUGHT RR 1 BOX 45-R BROAD RUN, VA 22014

ATTACHMENT 14
Page _____ of _?___

DOC RIGION RESponse to 3 to excerpt)

JOY HASLAM 421 MAYCOX AVE N TLK, VA 23505 8 05103 NO MEALS

EVELYN HILL 1068 GLEN WILLOW DR VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23462 8044673328 NO MEALS

CHERYL HODGES
P O BOX 29261
RICHMOND, VA 23242
8047405991
NO MEALS

JAMES HOWARD
4982 CENTURY DR
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23462
8044975793
NO MEALS

WENDY HUNT
1408 GREELEY CRT
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23456
18044957350
NO MEALS

MP EN JARD 5 OCKINGBIRD DR V1. INIA BEACH, VA 23451 8044259207 NO MEALS

DAVID JOHNSON
33 MALLARD BAY
HEATHSVILLE, VA 22473
8045803825
NO MEALS

EARL & CAROL KARL 15111 PHILIP LEE RD CHANTILLY, VA 22021 7033789433

ANNE KEAST 12505 CHRONICAL DR FAIRFAX, VA 22030 7036310060 NO MEALS MATTHEW & ANGELA HENDRICKS 411 LINKENBOROUGH DR CHESAPEAKE, VA 23320 8044820200

REV DAVE HILLIS
6520 WILLIAMSON RD NW
ROANOKE, VA 24019
7035638053
NO MEALS

CECIL & CAROL HOUCHIN 1312 RELLEN ST CHESAPEAKE, VA 23320 8045475689 NO MEALS

DAVID HUMMEL 5248 PRESTWICK VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23464

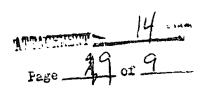
NANCY INMAN 532 HILLWELL RD CHESAPEAKE, VA 23320 8044821288 NO MEALS

EDITH JENSEN 10440 BURKE LAKE RD FAIRFAX STATION, VA 22039 7032501275

RANDY & DENISE JOHNSON 103 LITTLE WHIM RD FREDERICKSBURG, VA 22405 7033716251 NO MEALS

JERRY & CANDY KATZMANN 2205 LEEWARD SHORE DR VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23451 8044811526 NO MEALS

JEAN KERN 5224 INDIAN RIVER RD STE 118 VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23464 4670200



TATEMENTS CINAL TO BUILDING CONSTITUTE

us and we want to make sure you are aware of this before you cast your on Tuesday

Thank you and have a good day/evening

Source Scripts were provided by Mac Handbrough. The campaigns using them were not sten bibled by Handbrough. But a year after the November 1994 election there acribes became the center of contouring un floode a where Rebuille and claimed they unlastly assaided to flush and helped to reflect Nemoratian Governot Lawton Philies. Florida Democratic Governor Eawton Chiles, a Hanshrough digning in his successful 1994 rediction his against Republican his finish som of former President George Bush. More the decrean Republicans element that Chilese nervos vacous (65,000 soms on of 12, million) softwards reduced to grow to place to please sergets, to obtain of theory milk of Floridans should be a beautiful.

Nighter pleaning is just the fatest and jerthys restrict of the latest come of modern. Amortic or jedities. The technique and factor because others are made in view quipered to be technique and factor beings door combine of an they one were. Nighter IV obtained, direct made, and me we every factor cally precidite way to be negative planning, awarted landeringly. Share, and common bean deed to set at each other's table, as push pathing is proving men.

The Sleaze of '94

As the campaigns of 1994 proved, Mac Hansbrough was a proplet when he predicted in 1992 that "acgaine plonting will probably be used quite heavily in the next decade." Of the forty-five 1994 can didates for Congress we interviewed for this book, fully thirty-for fallmost 80 percent/daimed that push-polling was used against them Only one, freshman Republican U.S. Representative Bob Ehrlichel Maryland, was honest enough to admit doing it himself: I think all the pollsters are doing that now. I mean, ours did." Bob Ehrlichel Democratic opponent, Gerry Brewster, also used a research push poll, admitted Brewster consultant David Heller of Politics. Inc. "We tested different arguments against Ehrlich. (One question asked was,) If you knew that Rob Ehrlich supported a bill to give family leave to convicted murders and allowed them to go back into their communities, [would you be less likely to support him?]" their communities, [wasted murders as strong one, Heller insisted that

Reach Out and Slime Sameone

"Bob Flidish had more haggage than Samsonite." Further, using additional press reports on other races, we have been able to identify another three dozen cases of alleged push-polling that occurred during the 1994 election year. Given the iceberg nature of push-pulling—one-eighth above the surface and seven-eighths below—the actual number of push-poll incidents was likely far higher than our data indicated. And those who have been around politics and in the trent hes for a long time claim there was an explosion of push-pulling in 1994. The existed for years, but Fin telling you it was heavy chure this existed for years, but Fin telling you it was heavy chure this existed.

As worne of the following examples suggest, however, it is difficult to know what kind of push poll was employed in most cases, was it is gitting to exact bourses of distands negative phoning? Moreover, in most cases its next to impossible to trace the source of the colls. Because so much of push polling occurs under the radar serven, it is early covered or investigated by the news media? Sometheless, these examples—drawn mainly from campaigns in the 199ts, most in 1994, dearly document how widespread push-polling has become.

THE PROJUPE PUSH POLLS IN 1994

lust a few days before the November 8, 1994 elections, Joshua Harris reported as usual for work to his telemarketing company in Austin, Texas, known as the Southern Education Council. "It's a fundraising company, and we work with a lot of charities like the Texas Department of Public Safety Officers Association, the firefighters and fire marshals associations in Texas, and so forth," Harris said, 38 but on this particular night, a very different kind of script, prompted by a new rush order, popped up on the computer terminal for the calls Harris was suppassed to make. As he described it:

We had to say, "Hello, Mr. So and So, we're calling from the state pro-life federation. There are over 4,000 abortions performed every day in our state. Candidate A support abortion on demand and using your tax dollars to pay for it. Candidate B does not support abortion on demand and upposes using your tax dollars to pay for it." And then we mentioned something to the pro-life candidate's benefit, one of their accomplish-

FVFRVRHWS BARYTH THPARTISAN CORRUPTION

ments or whatever, and then we got off the planne. They ie infublitzes. We never interacted with the customer. We were on the planne for no more than ten to twenty seconds, and it worked. You got about 40 jeesple feach] making about 100 calls an bour. It went on Fielay night, then all day Saturday, from nine in the morning to nine at night, all day Sunday, nine to nine, and Monday nine to nine. And then on election day it went on nine to five. Easily 100,000 calls were mask, maybe more. The calls went out to Pennsylvania, to help Republican Ruck San torum in his race against Democrane U.S. Senator Harris Wolford, to Michigan, on behalf of the GOP'S Spencer Abraham, runningfor an open U.S. Senate seat to Tennesser, for various Republican monime est and to Municsola, where Republican Roal Grants was lasked in a tight contest for an open U.S. Senate berth with Democrat Ann Wynia.

American and Dennactatic party attracts, a twenty-bour-year-old Attran American and Dennactatic party attracts the alerted the Writis can staffer for the Austin-area Dennerical II Dennis I. Medicals a pasign on November 5; the campaign tipped off Dennis I. Medicals a reporter for the Minneapolis Star-Tirbune, and on November 7.3 brief mention of the calls was made in his story about the frantied forts of both sides at the eleventh hour. I No mate notice was take of the telephone operation in Minnesota or in any of the other states—except hap something that any of the other states—except hap something that any of the other states.

The first of the telephone operation in Minnesota or in any of the other states—except hap something to Minnesota or in any of the other states—except hap something the Minnesota of the telephone operation his council job as a penalty for his pangs of conscience. I was really pissed off, said Harris, And the calls? They were sleazy, noted Harris, but "sleazy and effective" that's the bad part. All the candidates whom the phoning was designed to help won their races.

The phoning's sponsor has not heretofore been publicly known Chris Georgacas, chair of the Minnesota GOP, speculated that it was financed by the National Right in Life Committee of the Chistop Coalition. In Proceedings of the Chistop Coalition. In Proceedings of the Chistop Coalition.

Reach Out and Slime Someone

ARREA ARREA MARK DV. 1914.

Iteled, and therefore disclosure of the muney spent was required under the Federal Election Campaign Act. But as we suggested in chapter 5, it appears that the original source of funding for the telephoning was the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

A number of Democratic U.S. House candidates also reported distorted push calls about their abortion records to us. For instance, former Representative Ted Strickland of Ohio attributes his very tion calls that the elect his district in the last week of the campaign. close defeat for recterion in 1994 in part to blunt negative persua-"Basically, the message was this: The you know that Congressman Strickland supports abortion on demand through the ninth month lof pregnancy?? And that he wants to use public tax dollars to pay for it?" commisers Strickland. "Now it's true I support public luading, but I have never supparted abortion on demand through the ninth munth Inf pregnancys, and would never, obviously." Strickland is convinced that the phoning came from outside his district because "un the une mersage lest un a recording device that I heard, the finterviewerf mispronounced the name of my opponent. So the people making the calls were not familiar enough with him to pronounce his name correctly."

For the record, pro-choice groups also did push-polling in 1994.

Arizona (who is pro-life and eventually won his race) reported to us that his pro-choice Democratic opponent sponsored persuasion calls throughout the district. If The interviewer would first ask, "Are you would say thank you and hang up, because "they didn't want to shondent said "pro-choice," if the answer was pro-life, the interviewer alienate people who were pro-life," suggested Salmon. But if the re-you know Matt Salmon is anti-choice?" "Obviously, it wasn't a thecepii," despite being presented as one, Salmon noted. "It was real alecepiive."

PUSH-POLL SPONSORSHIP: PSEUIXO-INIDEPENDENT, SEMI-INDEPENDENT, Earlier we mentioned the formation of phony shell groups or nonexistent polling firms to hide sponsorship of push-polling. Ac-

CONTRACTOR OF STREET,

cording to most of the religions bonk consultants we contest, this is far and as a the most common plasming technique. In addition, there are apprecially cases in which controls interest groups and even the political papers. Those to conduct ingular person can plasming neithour the specific approach of conduct ingular person manufallications.

ocear, had planned to vote for Demogratic nominer John Ribbara are companyin push poll that asked respondents it their spinore. I Bennet would be changed of the Check for the ball of turbed on Shipson north of stackers bouns, set formed the sum amount to be engriger. Brimis amilk bed S. 1888 con ming on his dielen dering but had considerably mer his required monthly performes as t about coordisale desc. coord beaute brederilly beams (the eventual winner of the seat), but was so entaged by what be centest in 1994 Republican nominer Rick Bennett demanced o got or supersymmetable occurs means on come student bears wer kanned of the purch polling both in outriged enzen, usuring called the palfs "the?" of Remen that he contacted Rement Such a sanatom occurred in Maine, in a hard bringht U.S. Doire saleanan Soart material William, Manu Tandes, cergisteral Dem doledly althe terms of the loon greenent. Then should decampaign."

compage...
Landry challenged the interviewer about the nature of the 'pull' and was rold the results would go to "the Democratic Party." In the heat of the campaign, though, the chairwoman of the Maine Democratic Party thatly denied that the party was engaging in any pushpolling. What one of Baldacci's campaign consultants, David Heller of Politics, Inc., now confirms the Democratic Party's role:

The (Abrine) Democratic Party bired a big D.C. publing from Lauer, Lalley & Associates to do push-pulling against Bennethar was paid for by the unions. ... I think it was an independent expenditure, done by Labor as the behest of the Democratic Party..... They asked libe student ban question and also estatic Party..... They asked libe student ban question and also that would have cut the state attorney general's budget down to virtually nouthing and allowed murderers to go back out on the streets, would you support him?"

Keach Out and Slime Someone

According to Heller, this was one occasion when a campaign did not desire the push-pulling assistance; "

John Baldacci had promited not to run a negative campaign. We went out of our way to partray John as sourcebody who's not a politician, somelwdy different, somelwdy who's not going to throw much John looked great in comparison to all the other masty races going on in Maine. And then, people start reading on the paper than the Baldact camp is going negative and they ver, we know he was postfake every bads clee." We tried to say, We clour know about this, we clour know what it is," But it was very dimagnigations (Baldaco won a closer than-expected

this is one of invelopest trustrations. The Democratic parts dead of their condition the race better than the candidate and live ampaign. They treed to brown be at sinte going negative and we southly close. Then they ran a regarive pull to say, "book, a works," because they know everything, we don't know anything, in their minds, John Baldacci is some bick from rural Manne.

As far the defeated Rick Bennett, he does not care much at this severely damaged by the student laan allegation, even though he attempted to refute it in a press conference held shortly before election day: "There's really no way to effectively combat this kind of underhanded campaigning. You come out at a press conference and announce. They're saying I defaulted, and it's not true.' So you publicize the charge and people start wondering if you did it or not. You can't win, and there's no good way to respond. This pushpolling is terrible, just completely reprehensible, ""

THE HOMOSEXUAL ROT BUTTON

Since negative persuasion phoning tries to cause the respondent's adrenaline to pump with outrage toward the opponent after just a brief encounter, it must search for hot-button issues that can be communicated in shorthand soundbires. Abortion, gun control, and

lack, Jeny Vienku The Idealus as Pubinsan (New York: Vantage Press,

- Bulleck, Jeny Combus
- 11. Ambrine, Niron, p. 139
- See, for example, two Bushington Port acticles Thomas E. Edsaff, "COPP's vember 6, 1986, p. A46, and Paul Taylor, "Social Security Overhaul Finds Advicates in GOD; IRA Type Proposals Ann bor Younger Voters," Cash Advantage Failed in Assure Viciniy in Cline Senate Cantevis," No. New ember 26, 1986, p A4
 - ery to Democratic Senate cambidates or at least this is the lesson taken It is impossible to quantify the effects of surb tactus, but the political proferminals believe that the wead section charge on any many check on and from the election by the prior, which elected after fouries by have turn a properate to use permane phonone. Ξ
- See about bothon to Clynd 10, 1994, Soil would report on swead security per ansare phonong in a special U.S. Bons, electron in Weaconson <u>-</u>
 - "The Political Pages 1995 96 Gamb to Political Consultants, Possbiers and Service, Compagn, and Harmon I. a. chinary 1988 74 70 ž.
- We mirrou wed political compliants at seven telephone in reketing from Ξ
- Sect acry | Sabato, The Rivery Polinial Considering New Harrof Women Herman (New York Barn Backs, 1981) in rearching threating 2
- Mac Hanchrough, "Ind N for Negative .- Using Phones to Make Your <u>œ</u>
- Telephone interiews with Mac Handmurgh on April 14 and April 19, Anacks Heard but Not Seen," Compagns and Electural 14 (April 1993)

5,

- See William Booth, "Chiles Admits Campaign Made 'Scare Calls' in Florida Gubernaturial Race," Warhington Post, November 10, 1995, p. A4. See also Hotline 10 (November 9, 1995); item 20. 2
 - Hanshrough, "Dial N for Negative," p. 61.
 - Telephone interview on January 17, 1995.
- Interview with David Heller, November 29, 1914.
- three Turn to Phone Push pulling to Step Up the Attack," November 9. 1994, p. A24. The Associated Press sent out a feature story on the subject. "Phone 'Polls' Used Politically," on May 29, 1995, "as Irgitimate polling starts petting under way in the 1996 presidential race." This piece also noted that the technique had apparently been exported. In March 1915 Past on October 9, 1994 ("Hewate the Pash Pall;" p. C.3. The day after The unly national fixus on the topic during the 1994 elections cause to a syndicated column by David S. Broder, first published in the Haidington the election, the *Hall Street fournal* also published a story on push pulls John Harwood and Daniel Pearl, "In Waping Campaign Hours, Camb 2 2 2

Notes

the Australian prime minister accused the opposition party of using this "grubby and sinister" inethial.

- Interview with Jishus Harris, November 30, 1994. 32
- that they had received repurts from the field about these antiabortion 26. (Micials in all the Demixeatic campaigns mentioned here confirmed to us calls. Jushua Harris also specifically recalled thas the identified campaigns
 - Dennis J. McCirath, "Wynia, Grams Pull Out Stops for Final Push," Star-Tirbune (Minneapolis), November 7, 1994, p. 81. were targeted for calls. 23
 - Quested in ibad. F, F, E
- See chapter 5.
- Increised with Ved Strukland, Linuary 27, 1995.
- fraceriew with Man Salmon, Linuary 20, 1995.
- Incern wanti Ruk Remett, November 25, 1994, See also Susan Young. "Cambalates Make Push polling Claure," Rangos Daily News, Octo-84.27, I'M, p. M.
 - Young, Tambalan
- Governor Angus King that the 18 meersts were also running a push-poll operation against beat. See John Hale, "Push pull, Plier Complaints 34 Chairwoman Victoria Marphy channed the Dennerats conducted only roce abanduatum palis wath no push palling questions. She was respanding to that go and prodent gubernatural candulate and now-Filed." Bargin Daly News, Oxinher 25, 1994, p. A.I. =
 - finerview with David Heller, Nivernier 29, 1994.
 - Interview with Rick Bennett, November 23, 1994. 2 2 2
 - Incrview with Tom Barlow, Januacy 16, 1995.
- This example is taken from a repost aired on National Public Radio's All Things Considered, October 39, 1994. The currespondent was Peter S.
- Hernard says the push-pall calls for need on other resuces, such as aburtion Interview with Reth Bernaed, November 29, 1994. Prior to election ever Kenyon of Alaska Public Radio. €.
 - Waham s death, the calls had an impact on her narrow loss to Republiand lates. \$
 - Increase with Fire Finge that, Linuary 23, 1995. can Real Grams =
- Dupach, August 14, 1903, p. 81; and John F. Harris, "Va. Republicans Say Democrate Are Shinging a Lattle Mud in Their Poll Questions," Hackington Post. August 18, 1995, p. 195. Incidentally, the prevident of Contravis with Others," Dath Popper, August 15, 1993, p. Bl. Sec also Tyler Whiley, "Polling Dewicked as Dirty Tricks," .: Richmond Times Compet & Secret, Alan M. Secrett, dol not take kindly to Calibon's efforts Tarte," Dolly Progress, August 8, 1993, p. 181; and Gibson, "Local Pull See Josh Gibom, "City: Takes bowe with Polling Firm's Presentation of ~